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THIS VOLUME CONTAINS,

I. *The* RISE *of* ROME, *or a Deduction of the* CAUSES *that raiſed her Citizens to be* LORDS *of the* WORLD.

II. *The* PLAN *of the* CONSULAR-GOVERNMENT—*compared with the* BRITISH-CONSTITUTION.

III. *The* FALL *of* ROME, *or the Steps traced by which ſhe firſt* DEGENERATED, *and finally loſt her* LIBERTY.

IV. *The* firſt Part *of the Life of* AUGUSTUS, *from his entering into Affairs after the Death of* JULIUS CESAR, *untill the Extinction of* LIBERTY, *and Settlement of the* TRIUMVIRATE.

On

ΕΙΣ Ρ'ΩΜΗΝ:

ΗΡΙ'ΝΝΑΣ ΤΗ'Σ ΛΕΣΒΙ'ΑΣ

'Ω Δ Η'.

ΧΑΙ῍ΡΕ' μοι Ρ'Ω'ΜΑ, θυγάτερ "Αρηος,
Χρυσεόμῖτρε, δαΐφρων "ανασσα,
Σεμνὸν ἕ ναίεις ὄπὶ γᾶς "Ολυμπον
ἀιὲν ἄθραυστον.

ΣΟΙ' μόνᾳ τρίσβιστα δέδωκε μοῖρα
Κῦδος ἀῤῥήκλας βασιλήϊον ἀρχᾶς,
"Οφρα κοιρανήϊον ἔχοισα κράτος,
'Αγεμονευής.

ΣΑ῍ δ' ὑπο ζόγλᾳ κρατερῶν λεπάδνων
ΣΤέρνα ϝαίας καὶ πολιᾶς θαλάσσας
Σφίϝγεται· ΣΥ' δ' ἀσφαλέως κυβερνᾷς
"Αστεα λαῶν.

ΠΑ'ΝΤΑ δὲ σφάλλων ὁ μέγιστος αἰὼν,
Καὶ μεταπλάσσων βίον ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως,
Σοὶ μόνᾳ πλησίστιον ὄυρον 'αρχᾶς
οὐ μεταβάλλει.

Η" γὰ ἐκ πάντων ΣΥ' μόνα κρατίστους
"Ανδρας αἰχματὰς μεγάλως λοχεύεις,
"Ευστοχυν Δάματρος ὅπως 'ανεῖσα
καρπὸν 'απ' ἀνδρῶν.

On

On ROME,

An ODE by ERINNA of Lesbos.

MARS's Daughter, warlike ROME,
Laurell'd Queen! whoſe mighty Sway
Men on earth, like Heaven's *Doom*
Uncontroulable, obey.

Hoary Fate to THEE *alone*
Has aſſigned th'imperial Throne.
That ſupreme, o'er every Land,
THOU *may'ſt exerciſe Command.*

THY *adamantine-linked Chain*
Begirds the Earth, *ſurrounds the* Main;
And diſtant Tribes in every Town
THY *unſhaken Empire own.*

Rolling TIME *that ſhifts the Scenes*
Of human Life, THY *Pow'r maintains,*
And breathes into THY *ſpreading Sail,*
Of Sov'reignty a conſtant Gale.

Chief of Nations THOU *bring'ſt forth*
Men of mighty martial Worth,
And Lords of Earth *in* THEE *are born*
Thick, as CERES *yields her Corn.*

To the Right Honourable

HENRY PELHAM, Eſqr.

&c. &c. &c.

SIR,

IT is now ſcarce a Queſtion among the wiſer part of Mankind, whether Knowledge acquired by Books, or by Experience in Buſineſs, be the preferable Acquiſition. At the ſame time the unprejudiced readily allow, that neither Species while ſeparate can reach Perfection, or ſingly riſe to its full Value in Life; but each muſt remain lame, untill Converſe with *Books* combine with Knowledge of *Men*, and, like *Art* and *Genius* in Poetry, mutually correct the Faults and ſupply the Defects of one another.

BUT the Conjunction is pretty rare: Men of Theory and Project are too apt to deſpiſe the Drudges of Buſineſs—and the active and laborious often contemn Books and Speculation: The learned World feels the ill Conſequences, and is either loaded with crude practical Productions, or ſated with Volumes of mere Literature.

I AM led to theſe Reflections by frequently wondering how it hath happened, that a COURT ſo celebrated as that of AUGUSTUS, and adorned with ſo many Men of diſtinguiſhed Merit, ſhould yet be but little known to Poſterity?—We generally take up a high Opinion of its Grandeur and good Taſte, upon the teſtimony, I think, of ſome of the Poets who lived at that time; but have very imperfect Accounts either of the Perſons who made the beſt Figure in it, or of the many Accidents that muſt have fallen out in a long Reign of four and forty years.

THIS is the more ſtrange, as there never was an Age more productive of Poets, Hiſtorians, Memoir-writers, and indeed Writers of all kinds, than from the end of the civil Wars, to the middle of the Reign of *Tiberius*; when the Moroſeneſs and Cruelty of that Prince made it dangerous to write or ſpeak of public matters. But the Humour was ſo prevalent under AUGUSTUS, that moſt of the People in Power took pleaſure in recording *the chief Circumſtances of their own Lives*, and *tranſmitting* them to Poſterity. The Prince himſelf led the Way; and his Example was ſo powerful, that it was looked upon as a very unhappy Defect in any great Man, if he could not ſpeak and *write*, with the ſame Juſtneſs and Dignity he could *act*: And little leſs was the Emulation among the firſt Men of the Age upon that Point, than upon the other.

BUT of all their Writings, not one ſingle piece of the *hiſtorical* or *memoir* kind hath eſcaped the ſtroke of devouring Time.—The numerous Works of AUGUSTUS *, his Reply to *Brutus*'s CATO; his *Advices* to ſtudy Philoſophy, his *Memorial* of the life of his loved *Druſus*, and *Memoirs* of his own Life in thirteen Books, have all periſhed: the elegant *Memoirs* of his Favourite MECENAS, the high-ſpirited POLLIO's Writings, the ingenuous and brave AGRIPPA's and the wanton DELLIUS's, have every one undergone the ſame Fate. We are even deprived of that

* Reſcripta BRUTO de *Catone:* Hortationes ad Philoſophiam: Memoria Vitæ *Druſi:* CÆS. AUGUSTI de *Vita ſua*, Libri xiii.

that latter Part of *Livy* the Hiſtorian's great Work, which deduced the *Roman* Story to the Reign of AUGUSTUS, and contained an account of the Wars and public Acts, if not the private Tranſactions of his Court.—The Loſs of ſuch Writings is doubly to be regreted, both becauſe many of their great Authors being themſelves in the Secret of Affairs, treated of what they perfectly knew; and, that the Space of Years in which AUGUSTUS lived, is the Period of all the *Roman* Empire, that beſt deſerves to be known.

IT was the Age that produced the greateſt Men in theſe Capacities, in which the beſt and worthieſt of Mankind chiefly ſtrive to excell, LETTERS, ARTS, and ARMS: It was the Age that produced the greateſt Revolutions of Fortune in the ſhorteſt Time: and how uneaſy ſoever it may have been *to live* in that tempeſtuous Seaſon, yet I am perſuaded that it is now a more agreeable Spectacle to look back, and review the Struggles of States in a Field where Fortune had full play, than to turn o'er the dull Annals of a drowſy eaſtern Monarchy for ages together. There you have little elſe than the *Name* of one who ſucceeded his Father in his Throne and Seraglio; who lived ſo many Years, begat ſo many Children, and ordered his Mutes to ſtrangle ſo many of his Brothers, Friends, and Miniſters: While in the Contentions of free civilized Nations, where Men are not over-awed and grown daſtardly, we meet with a beautiful Variety of Incidents, and have the beſt Opportunities of learning *what Men really are*. Such Periods are full of great Turns of Affairs; they abound with ſudden Dangers and ſurpriſing Joys, which never fail to rouſe the lurking Paſſions, and diſplay the real Character of the Man without Diſguiſe or Colouring: A View the moſt pleaſant and inſtructive that Nature affords!

IT will be readily allowed by ſuch as are acquainted with the Riſe and Progreſs of this brave People, that few Terms of Years have produced more of theſe buſy Scenes, than the *Period* I have named; which for that reaſon, if but truly repreſented,

ſeems to bid fair to give us the nobleſt Entertainment we can receive from Hiſtory. The firſt Part of it preſents us with a diſmal Proſpect, full of all the Horrors of a mercileſs War, and a cruel Tyranny: Nothing but wild Diſorder and Confuſion in the State, violent ſeizing of Mens Properties, and inhuman Barbarities exerciſed upon their Perſons and Families. But in the latter, the Scene changes to ſuch a Flow of public Proſperity and private Happineſs, as Peace and good Order muſt neceſſarily beſtow upon a governing People.

It is not therefore my Deſign in theſe Memoirs, to write a Book of *Antiquities*,—to correct an Error in the *Faſti*,—ſettle a dubious Conſul, or determine the preciſe Day of a Battle:—their Aim is higher, and of other Conſequence. I propoſe, as a Caution to my high-prized Country, whoſe Conſtitution is my Admiration, and whoſe Service would be my Pride, *To ſhew by what Steps a brave and free People, from being the Conquerors of the weſtern World, came firſt to forfeit their Liberties, and, by degrees, ſink into Slavery, and become the meaneſt of Mankind.*—— Not that I pretend to give *a full* and *formal Hiſtory* of the State of the *Roman* Empire under Augustus, or to trace all the political Steps of his Government: But along with this my firſt and *chief* Intention, I would endeavour to repair ſome ſmall Part of the unhappily loſt Memoirs of the great Men above mentioned;—to give ſome account of the Figure they made, and the Offices they held, in that polite Court; to deſcribe the Humour and Manner of Life of the principal Perſons in it; to point out their ſeveral *Pleaſures*, and paint their *Caprices* as far as we know them; and in ſhort, to endeavour to make an *Acquaintance* with them, and, were it poſſible, an *Intimacy*.

This, beſides the Pleaſure of knowing *ſuch* Characters, has a very happy Circumſtance attending it, as it enables us to judge with Certainty of the capital Productions of the *Roman* Genius, and of the Conduct of their moſt admired Writers: How delightful muſt it be, to obſerve the Addreſs of ſuch Men as *Virgil*

gil and *Horace*, *Tibullus* and *Ovid*, in adjuſting their Compliments to the various *Tempers* of their great Friends? — both in ſpeaking of the Things moſt agreeable to them, and in talking to each of them *in his own Way*. Nor is *Great Britain* more deſervedly famed for the Variety of different Tempers and whimſical Humours of her Sons, than *Rome* was before ſhe ſubmitted to a Maſter; or rather, before that Maſter exerted his Power: For, in the latter Days of AUGUSTUS, every Man might ſtill be what he pleaſed, and chuſe the *Character* and *Manners* that beſt ſuited his Inclinations. *One* was proud of his high Deſcent; but aſhamed to own that he was ſo: *another* valued himſelf on the Honours and Offices he had bore: and a *third* deſpiſing theſe Honours, hugged himſelf in the Elegance of his Table, and Pleaſures of his private Life. A Hint to the firſt of theſe, of the Nobleneſs of his Blood, would make it fluſh in his Face:— Conſulſhips, and Triumphs, and Provinces would be the welcome Subjects to the other's Ear; and the Vanity of theſe Pageants,—*a Sneer at a Lictor*, or *a Jeſt on the Faſces*, would ſteal a Smile from the laſt.

THIS difficult Science of Men, the courtly *Horace* is ſaid to have underſtood beyond his Co-temporaries, and to have made it ſubſervient to the beſt of Purpoſes: while true to the Intereſts of public Virtue, he wrapt up ſome Maxim of Clemency and Beneficence in every Addreſs to the Prince, and of Integrity and Moderation in every Compliment to the Miniſters. He lived long in high Favour with the prime Favourite; and had the Offer of higher Employments and a greater Truſt from AUGUSTUS, than his Scheme of Life permitted him to accept. He poſſeſſed the two great Accompliſhments of an agreeable Man, *Sincerity* and *ſweet Temper*; and as he adorned them with a lively Wit, exquiſite Taſte, and extenſive Learning, no wonder if he was the Delight of the moſt accompliſhed Men in *Rome*. He ſeems indeed to have been conſcious of his Talent, *to pleaſe*; for he hath either writ a Letter or addreſſed a Satyr or Song to the

the chief Perſons who made a figure in Court at that time. As we grow acquainted with *them*, we read his Writings with higher Reliſh; and could that Acquaintance be improved into a Familiarity, we would then enter into the *Propriety* of every Word and Thought: We would figure to ourſelves ſuch Men as *Pollio*, *Trebatius*, *Lollius*, or the young *Piſos* receiving his Letters; and imagine we ſaw the Features of Pleaſure and Shame changing alternately upon their Faces, while they peruſed theſe artful Inſtructions and concealed Reproofs, which procured him ſo many valuable Friendſhips when alive, and have ſince ſecured him ſo high a Reputation where-ever his Works are known.

YET to do Juſtice to him, and to his Set of noble Friends, we muſt by no means confine ourſelves to their *Pleaſures*; but take in as much of the *public Affairs* as will aſſiſt us to trace them in their political Capacity: And *that* cannot be done without a thorow Underſtanding of the CONSTITUTION of antient *Rome*, and of the POWERS of her Magiſtrates: For it is impoſſible to form a juſt Notion of any Man's Rank or Intereſt in his Country, if we are ignorant either of the Nature and Functions of the Offices he bears, or of his Abilities to diſcharge them; a Point, though of the greateſt Importance, that has been generally but lamely handled;—I ſuppoſe becauſe the numerous Writers upon theſe Subjects have either been Men of *mere Study*, little acquainted with *Life*; or if attempted by any one, capable of drawing up a Plan of Government, he has only conſulted the *Latin Authors*, who were at no pains to explain to their Countrymen the Meaning of Terms which every *Roman* knew. But the noble and ingenious Strangers who lived at *Rome* *, and were carefull to conſider the Conſtitution and Diſcipline which had made the *Romans* their Maſters, *They* are the genuine Sources of Information; becauſe as they wrote in a different

* *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan*, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, and the great Geographer *Strabo*.

ferent Language, and for the Inſtruction of their own Countrymen, (Foreigners unacquainted with the *Roman* Cuſtoms and Government) they take pains to explain the Nature of that Government, and write in effect as if they had intended their Works for US.

BY *their* means, and eſpecially one great Man's, the admirable POLYBIUS, whoſe Writings are the Wonder of all that underſtand them, we come beſt to comprehend the entire MODEL of the antient Commonwealth as it ſtood under the Conſuls; and are capable of forming the trueſt Judgment of the Changes made in it by the civil Wars, and by the Princes, who, in conſequence of them, uſurped the ſupreme Power. Without this, we ſhould loſe a great Part of our Entertainment: For many things had been done by AUGUSTUS, and ſome things were ſtill tranſacting at his Court, which the Men of Wit (being Men of Senſe too) did not care once to *mention*; other things that *muſt needs* be mentioned, required all their Addreſs to touch upon them tenderly. It cannot but be entertaining to obſerve the Colours they have put upon theſe ambiguous Actions; the Turns they have choſe to give them, and the Points upon which they thought it moſt convenient *to hold their Tongue:* An uncommon Prerogative, which Virtue and Capacity beſtow upon a Set of ingenious Men, favoured by an all-powerful Court, *that their very Silence* ſhould prove inſtructive! *

BUT, as I ſaid before, it was after a long and cruel Struggle, in which the beſt Blood in *Rome* was ſpilt, that AUGUSTUS became Maſter of the Commonwealth; and though he preſerved the old Forms and Appearances of the Magiſtrates, yet having wholly changed the Government and deſtroyed the Vitals of their Liberty, there were *Decencies* to be obſerved, and *Diſtances* to be kept when ſuch tickliſh Subjects came in view: And then it

* *Diurna Populi Romani per Provincias, per Exercitus curatius leguntur, ut noſcatur quid* THRASEA *non fecerit.*

Cor. Tacit. Annal. xvi.

it is, or never, that we may certainly judge, whether the Authors were Men of Diſcretion as well as Fancy; if they were really Maſters in Life, or only Makers of Verſe; and may form no ill Notion of a Writer's Capacity and Diſpoſition of his Patron, from ſome of theſe finer Strokes that eſcape the general Obſervation.

To aſſiſt us upon ſo delicate a Point, a peculiar Piece of good Fortune attended the Writers of the *Auguſtan* Age, without which it would have been very difficult, if not impoſſible, to ſee the Nicety of their Conduct in all its Extent and Beauty. As both *they*, and the *great Men* to whom they wrote, excelled in ſome reſpects all who had gone before them, and in every reſpect all who came after them, their ſuperior Merit made them the Subject of much Diſcourſe in the ſucceeding Reigns; and occaſioned their being quoted in all Converſations, as the Patterns of Politeneſs, Senſe, and Learning. A Conſequence of this was, that the Writers of theſe Reigns have likewiſe adduced their Opinions upon many Occaſions, and have recorded a thouſand Particularities of their Perſons, Adventures, and Manner of Life, ſome of which perhaps even their own Writings had not tranſmitted to Poſterity. Theſe ſcattered Remains (the only Comfort or Compenſation we have for the Loſs of the other) contain the private Characters of that *illuſtrious Band of Friends* who were the chief Ornament of the COURT of AUGUSTUS. When to an Acquaintance with theſe Characters, we join a proper Knowledge of the *public Tranſactions*, we become qualified to judge of one of the greateſt Events in Hiſtory, the *Cataſtrophe of Rome*;—and, as it were by the bye, to read the Writings of a *Virgil* and a *Horace* with Underſtanding and Taſte.

BUT to reach theſe Ends it will be neceſſary, both to look a little narrowly into the State of Affairs at the Death of the grand Uſurper *Julius Ceſar*; and ſtill more, to give previouſly ſome *genuine* Account of the *Place*, and of the extraordinary Fortunes of the *People* who are to be the Subject of the following Memoirs.

I AM, *SIR!* perfectly aware of the Difficulty of the Attempt. To deſcribe the *Riſe* and gradual *Progreſs* of a CONSTITUTION, and to point out the happy *Conjunctures* in the Nonage of a State, that from a Hamlet of Shepherds, and Neſt of Fugitives, raiſed it to be the Miſtreſs of Nations, and Head of the weſtern World, is no trivial Undertaking: and I acknowledge with pleaſure, that if I am able to do any Juſtice to the Subject,—— if I have indeed comprehended the Power and explained the Policy of the *Roman* Government, it is chiefly owing to the long Attention I have given to the *Britiſh Conſtitution*, and to the Attachments I have had to ſome of its *trueſt Friends*.

WITH *their* aſſiſtance I have carefully compared the Accounts given of the Parts and Powers of the *Roman* Republic by the moſt conſummate Stateſman of Antiquity * with the legiſlative and executive Powers of *Great Britain*; I have attentively conſidered theſe Powers in their *free Exerciſe* in both States, and have ſet the civil Struggles of the *Roman* Republic, as it were over againſt the moſt memorable Periods of the *Britiſh* Hiſtory.—I have, in ſhort, refuſed no Light that Records of the Dead, or Converſe with the Living could afford, and have ſubmitted to the diſagreable Taſk of turning over many an uſeleſs Volume upon the beaten embarraſſed Subject.

YET ſtill—I write with Diffidence:—A Theme that employed the Heads of the wiſeſt in *Rome*, that warmed the Hearts of her Patriots, and directed the Hands of her invincible Legions, makes me earneſtly wiſh for the Guidance of Experience, and Direction of ſuperior Capacity.

MAY I therefore have the Honour I well know how to prize, of delineating the *Roman* Model, as it were, under the Eye of the greateſt *Britiſh* Patriot! and whilſt I trace the Cauſes, and point out the Excellencies of a CONSULAR-PLAN, may

* POLYBIUS already mentioned, Favourite of the younger *Scipio Africanus*.

I flatter myſelf with the pleaſing Hopes of an *Admonition* where I miſtake, and a *maſterly Aſſiſtance* where I am unequal to the Enterprize.

THE CITY *ROME*, which in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, had the fineſt Countries of the known World under its Dominion, was at firſt no more than an inconſiderable Colony from *Alba:* But the *Time* of its Foundation, its *Situation* and *Neighbourhood*, and its early *Fortunes*, ſeem firſt to have formed, and then conſpired with the *Character* of its Citizens, to raiſe it to that Pitch of Power and Grandeur which it afterwards attained.

IT is now almoſt two thouſand four hundred and fourſcore Years ſince *Romulus*, a Youth bred up in a paſtoral hardy Life was diſcovered to belong to the *Alban* royal Family. He was a Grandchild of *Numitor* by his Daughter *Ilia* or *Rhea*. The young Lady happened to be found with Child, tho' a Prieſteſs of *Veſta*, and it was given out that *Mars* was the Father; which in thoſe days, when the Gods were frequently ſuppoſed to converſe with Men, was better believed than it would be at preſent. Their Family was thought to be deſcended from *Eneas*, a Prince whom the Ancients looked upon as particularly favoured by Heaven *, ſince of all the Trojans *he* and *Antenor* were only ſpared by the *Greeks* at the Deſtruction of *Troy*, and permitted to ſail off with the Remains of their People, in queſt of other Seats. After much wandering and many Hardſhips, they both ſettled in *Italy*; and the Poſterity of *Eneas* had reigned for ſeveral generations in *Alba*, a Town, or rather a large *Village*, with a ſmall Territory, not a great way from the Place where *Rome* was afterwards built.

ROMULUS

* ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ δὲ σώσας μὲν τοὺς πατρῴους θεοὺς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, δόξαν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνέγκατο, ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ὧν ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἔδοσαν μὴ συληθῆναι.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ, Κυηδετικός.

ROMULUS was of a bold enterpriſing Temper, Chief of the neighbouring Shepherds, and their Captain when attacked by the Mountain-robbers. After the diſcovery of his high Birth, being informed that his Grandfather, then Head of the Family, was excluded from the Government by the Uſurpation of a younger Brother, he gathered his ruſtic Troop, and getting privately into the Town, ſurprized the Uſurper, and reeſtabliſhed *Numitor* in the Throne.

In return for this Service, having little or no Attachment to a Place where he had never lived, or perhaps through an impatience to *command*, he aſked and obtained liberty from the reſtored King *to lead out a Colony* of as many of the Inhabitants of *Alba* as ſhould be willing to follow his Fortunes. There were about fifteen hundred Men, according to the *Roman* Hiſtorians, who choſe to leave their native Country in hopes of finding a better Condition in another. With theſe, joined to his old hardy Companions, the Shepherds, *Romulus* laid the Foundations of his new City at a very happy Conjuncture.

It was when *Italy* itſelf was thinly inhabited, and parcelled out into many ſmall ſcattered States of different Cuſtoms and Forms of Government; when *Gaul* and *Spain*, and every thing to the *Weſt* and *North*, was covered with groſs Barbarity, and ignorant of any kind of Diſcipline: to the *Eaſt* was *Greece*, diſciplined indeed, and able to have over-run them with eaſe, had they turned their Arms that way: But, happily for infant-*Rome*, *Greece* was employed either in its own civil Wars, or obliged to keep its eye conſtantly fixed upon the *Great King* (ſo they called the King of *Perſia*) who was then riſing to his Meridian, and deſigning the Conqueſt of *Europe* and the World. By this means the *Grecian* Power, inſtead of making attempts upon *Italy*, was a Bulwark to the young State againſt *Aſiatic* Invaſions, untill *Rome* gathered Strength, and was able to deal with all her Oppoſers.

THE firſt Thing that ROMULUS did, after marking out the Boundaries of his new City, was to proclaim an *Aſylum* or Sanctuary to every body that would come and inhabit it *; which he cauſed to be publiſhed at the moſt frequented Games and great Feſtivals of the little States in the neighbourhood. This Proclamation had the deſired effect. It brought the *Outlaws* (a numerous Tribe then in *Italy*) from their Retreats on all hands; and occaſioned beſides a great reſort of various kinds of People: the *diſcontented* and *uneaſy* at home, the *indigent* and *rapacious*, *Slaves* and *Fugitives* from all quarters, came flocking to a young martial Commander, and were made welcome.

WE muſt therefore conſider the firſt Foundation of *Rome*, not as a *regular Colony*, led out from an ancient well-regulated State, by whoſe Laws and Inſtitutions it was to be governed; but as a Mixture of ſeveral kinds of People, the Inhabitants of ancient *Latium* †, differing in Cuſtoms and Manners, and the greater Part of them unacquainted with a legal orderly Life. There was firſt *Romulus*'s own Troop, accuſtomed to nothing but the Woods and the Mountains; there was the Body of Volunteers from *Alba*, not the Perſons of the beſt Character and Condition in that Territory; and laſtly, which was the greater Number, there was a Confluence of Banditti, the Refuſe of *Italy*, all inured to a vagabond lawleſs Life, and many of them ſubſiſting by Rapine and Plunder.

SUCH

* ROMULUS *ut ſaxo lucum circumdedit alto,*
Cuilibet hùc, inquit, confuge, tutus eris.
O quam de tenui ROMANUS *origine crevit!*
Turba vetus quam non invidioſa fuit!

OVID. Faſtor. Lib. iii. § 7.

† Latium antiquum a Tiberi Circeios ſervatum eſt, mille paſſuum quinquaginta longitudine: tam tenues primordio Imperii fuere radices. Colonis ſæpe mutatis tenuêre alii aliis temporibus, Aborigines, Pelaſgi, Arcades, Siculi, Aurunci, Rutuli; et ultra Circeios Volſci, Oſci, Auſones, unde nomen modò Latii proceſſit ad Lyrim amnem.

C. PLINII Nat. Hiſtor. Lib. iii. cap. v.

SUCH then were the firſt Inhabitants of *Rome*; a Band of Men whoſe chief hopes lay in their own Right-hands; who were under the protection of no Government, were obnoxious to all their Neighbours, and incapable of recommending themſelves by the Arts of Peace: And as they had few Ties of Relation and Conſanguinity among themſelves, and were more fierce and impatient of Reſtraint than a People trained up to Regularity and Obedience, they both ſtood in need of good Uſage at home, and of more cogent Motives from abroad, to keep them quiet and orderly.

It was their peculiar good Fortune to meet with *both:* For, in order to make them well contented with their new State, and ſubmit chearfully to his Authority, *Romulus* gave them peculiar Privileges, and a great Share in the Management of public Affairs;—and their *Situation* with reſpect to their Neighbours, effectually taught them the Virtues of Concord * and Love of their new Common Weal. They were ſeated on the Weſt Side of *Italy*, a Coaſt then pretty much unknown to the *Greeks*, and encompaſſed with little *hoſtile States*, who envied their ſudden Growth, attacked them by Force and Fraud one after another; and who, for a long Tract of Years, were every now and then bringing upſtart *Rome* to the Brink of Ruin: Nor did the weakeſt of them all, when they had once declared War, lay down their Arms, and give up their Liberty, untill they were forced to it by Dint of Sword.

The *Capuans* demanded by their Ambaſſadors, as a condition of Peace, that one of the yearly elected Conſuls ſhould be a *Campanian:* The *Samnites* bid the *Roman* Ambaſſadors ſpare themſelves the trouble of *talking* about Peace or War; but meet them on *ſuch* a Plain with their Army, there to decide, *Which* People

* Externus timor maximum concordiæ Vinculum, quamvis ſuſpectos infenſoſque inter ſe jungit Animos.

T. Livii, Lib. ii.

People ſhould have the Dominion of *Italy?* even the Siege of the Town of *Veii*, after the Nation was diſabled from taking the field, laſted for *ten* Years—and the *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, the *Fidenians*, the *Hernicians*, the *Fregellans*, but above all the obſtinate *Etrurians* or *Tuſcans*, and the furious Irruptions of the *Gauls*, ſcarce left *Rome* in the courſe of four Centuries three ſucceſſive Years of Peace.

THUS the *Romans*, from the time of their Settlement, were kept almoſt conſtantly to the *Exerciſe of their Arms*; firſt to preſerve themſelves and their new-founded City from imminent Deſtruction, and when they had got the upper hand in that Quarrel, they fought next for *Conqueſt* and *Dominion*. For finding themſelves ſuperior in the Field to their envious Neighbours who had endeavoured to cruſh their tender Eſtabliſhment, they began by little and little to extend their ſmall Territory, eſpouſed all the Quarrels of their Friends and Allies *; and when the Sword was once drawn, they never deſiſted untill they had obliged the common Enemy to take Laws from *them*. This entailed War after War upon *Rome*, made a Soldier of every Citizen, and of every Magiſtrate a General. Their military Skill and perſonal Bravery increaſed by every new Struggle; and before *Italy* itſelf was wholly ſubdued, the State, like a Man grown up amidſt Toils and Hardſhips, was in breath to cope with the fierceſt Aſſailant that ever attacked a Nation †.

THIS general Obſervation looks forwards to the ſubſequent Fortunes of the *Roman* Republic; and is ſo nearly connected with another of the ſame kind, that I cannot help anticipating myſelf upon the Subject, and remarking, that, during this Struggle for the Dominion of *Italy* alone, which laſted upwards of four hundred Years, the *Manners* of the *Romans* were formed, their *Spirit*

* Noſter autem Populus, ſociis defendendis, terrarum jam omnium potitus eſt. CICERO apud Nonium.

† HANNIBAL *the* Carthaginian.

Spirit tempered, their *Opinions* of Honour and Happineſs ſettled, the *Laws* and *Religion* of their Country turned venerable and ſacred, and the Foundations deeply laid of *thoſe Paſſions*, that ſupport Mankind in the greateſt Performances.

BUT I reſume the Hiſtory of their new Settlement, in order to diſcover what it was in their Conſtitution that enabled them thus to carry on War after War, without being exhauſted and ruined; and what other Accidents directed them *to that Conſtitution*. For when the City was tolerably built, and peopled with ſuch a Medley of various Inhabitants, the Order and Regulations by which they muſt be governed, were accommodated of courſe to the preſent *Exigencies* of their Situation.

ACCORDINGLY the Citizens were divided into two Ranks or Orders, *Nobles* and *Commons*, or in the *Roman* ſtile, *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; a Diviſion which forms itſelf naturally in every great Body of Men, and is much eaſier made than preſerved. Out of the firſt, *Romulus* choſe one hundred for his *great Council* or *Senate:* They were all Men advanced in Years, and were called by the honourable Title of *Fathers:* Of the other, he compoſed the Groſs of his Legions, gave them the diſpoſal of all the Booty taken in War, and no ſmall ſhare in the Adminiſtration. Theſe two Orders, with himſelf at their Head, made up the entire *Body* of the *Roman State:* It was a compleat Army in the Field with its proper Officers, every *Roman* being obliged to march when his Country called to Arms; and a civil Government at home, in the form of a mixed or limited Monarchy. The Powers of the ſeveral Parts of which it was compoſed, came afterwards to be admirably tempered by the help of a Chain of Events, all contributing to the Improvement of *Romulus*'s Plan; — which in ſhort was this.

THE KING, in the firſt place, had the Precedency at all *Sacrifices* and public *Feſtivals*, and performed in perſon the chief parts in all religious Ceremonies, which at that time was an Office

fice highly honourable. He was the *Guardian* of the Laws, and preſided in the Courts of Juſtice, when Judgment was to be given in the greateſt Cauſes. He had the ſole power of calling the Senate, and convocating Aſſemblies of the People; and gave his Opinion firſt in the Meeting. But his grand *Prerogative*, and what *Romulus* had moſt occaſion to exerciſe, was to be General in time of War, and command in the Field without Controul or Partnerſhip.

THE SENATE's Province was to hear, deliberate, and give their Opinion of all public Matters: they were, as was juſt now ſaid, the King's *Great Council:* But, independently of him, they had the Power of reſolving to make Peace or War; and out of their Body all the Officers of State and Magiſtrates were to be choſen; no Man being capable of holding any Office of Honour or Truſt but a *Patrician.*—One ſhould wonder after this, what Power or Privileges were left to the People, whoſe Share proved afterwards, in the Progreſs of the Commonwealth, an Overmatch for the other two.

THE COMMONS had the Election and Nomination of all Magiſtrates and public Officers, civil and military, beginning at the Sovereign himſelf: A Power of the moſt extenſive Influence thro' all the conſtituent Parts of the State, and only limited by their Choice, being confined to the Body of *Patricians.* Then they confirmed or rejected in the laſt Reſort the Laws and Regulations tranſmitted to their Aſſembly from the Senate: To them lay the final Appeal in caſes of Treaſon, Murder, or Miſdemeanours in the high Offices of State *. And laſtly, they aſſumed the final Determination of Peace and War. They

* Provocationem ad Populum etiam *à Regibus* fuiſſe: id ita in pontificalibus libris aliqui putant, et *Feneſtella.* CICERO ap. Senec. Ep. cviii.

Videro ceſſurus ne Provocationi ſis (ad Populum) cui Rex Romanus Tullus Hoſtilius ceſſit? ſaid the old *M. Fabius* to the ſevere Dictator *L. Papirius Curſor*, who inſiſted to have his Son *Q. Fabius*, Maſter of Horſe, puniſhed for fighting with, and beating the *Samnites* contrary to his Orders.

They exerciſed this Power at firſt, before the Senate took the matter into their Conſideration, who only approved or annulled the Reſolution of the People: But afterwards, the Senate made the prior Step; and the Commons gave or refuſed the *Sanction.*

THIS admirable Conſtitution proved the great Security of *Rome* in her infant State, and laid the Foundation of all her future Grandeur. Its viſible Tendency is to ſecure the Enjoyment of private Right and Property, and of conſequence bids faireſt for an able and incorrupt Adminiſtration. But it will be more proper to take a full view of its Virtues, and ſhew how much it is calculated for obtaining theſe great Ends of Government; when we come to conſider it with its Improvements in the Form it took under the Conſular-ſtate. At preſent I muſt take notice of another *Inſtitution* of *Romulus*, which, tho' apparently of a private Nature, produced great and good Effects in public, and diffuſed its beneficent Influence thro' all the Parts of the Commonwealth.

IT was that of *Patronage* and *Clientſhip*, which obliged the two Orders of *Nobles* and *Commons* to a reciprocal Exchange of Good-offices: The Nobleman or Senator was to take the Commoner and all his Concerns into his Protection; he was to direct him in his Buſineſs, to explain the Laws to him, to plead his Cauſe when proſecuted, to defend him from every kind of Injury; was Tutor by law to his Children while Minors, and Heir of all he had if he died inteſtated * *without legal Heirs.* The Client, on the other hand, was to do every thing that could promote the Honour or Intereſt of his Patron: He was to attend him to the Forum and Senate, to give him his Vote when he ſtood Candidate for the high Offices of his Country, and aſſiſt him with all his might to acquire that Power, which was to protect himſelf in return. No Judge or Court could call them as Witneſſes againſt one another; and as it was reputed highly infamous in a great Man to take Money

* Ex Lege XII. TABULARUM.

for doing any of theſe good Offices, ſo there were many Inſtances where the Clients have met in a Body, and when their Patron's Family was low, have taxed themſelves, and given Portions to his Daughters ſuitable to their Birth and Quality.

THIS was the happy humane Inſtitution which cemented the two naturally oppoſite Parties in the State; and while there were no Attempts made upon the original Plan of Government, it frequently prevented or healed the Miſunderſtandings that are apt to happen betwixt them. Nor was its ſocial Influence confined within the Verge of *Rome*, but diffuſed itſelf firſt thro' *Italy*, and with the Propagation of its Dominion, reached the utmoſt Limits of the Empire. It then embraced the moſt diſtant Towns and Corporations, and glued them to *Rome* by the Protection and Patronage of ſome great Man, to whoſe honour it redounded the more in number, and more illuſtrious they were: a *happy Method* of reconciling the Paſſions and Intereſts of Men to the public Good; and making the wildeſt of them (Ambition) ſubſervient to the Felicity of as many Individuals as the Keenneſs of the aſpiring Senator prompted him to undertake!

To *perpetuate* this mutual Benefit, the Connexion between the two Parties was not allowed to drop upon the Death of a Patron; it was hereditary to his Family, the Father's good Deeds being a Treaſure of Merit to the Son, and the Son being obliged by Honour and Intereſt to make good his Father's Engagements. It came at laſt to be looked upon as a *ſacred Tye* between Perſons of the ſeveral Conditions; and to violate it, — that is for a Nobleman to neglect his Client, or deſert him in Diſtreſs, grew to be a thing of the deepeſt and moſt indelible Infamy *: But if the latter was found oppoſing his Benefactor, he had in ſome Caſes the *parental* Power over him, and was at liberty to put him to Death.

THESE

* PATRONUS, SI CLIENTI FRAUDEM FECERIT, SACER ESTO.
LEX xii. TABUL. apud Servium in Æn. vi.

Homo

THESE were ſome of the Foundations laid by *Romulus* of the future Order and Diſcipline of the *Romans*. He it was who drew theſe firſt Lines of that Model or Plan of Government, under which this Medley of the different Nations of Greece and Italy proſpered at home and conquered abroad *. The chief Paſſion of his Life ſeems to have been *to raiſe the Power and Reputation of his new-founded City, by conſtantly adding to the Number of its Inhabitants.* For this end he not only made *Rome* a ſafe Retreat to Men of all Characters and Conditions; but uſed another piece of Policy very little practiſed in that barbarous Age. Inſtead of putting the People he conquered to the Sword, or ſelling his Captives for Slaves, he always tranſplanted them into his new Settlement; and which was ſtill ſtranger, admitted them to all the Privileges of the former Inhabitants. In this manner he treated the *Antennates*, the *Cruſtuminians*, the *Fidenians*, People of the bordering States; and at laſt condeſcended to ſacrifice even half his Royalty to the ſame Conſideration.

Homo SACER is eſt, quem Populus judicavit ob maleficium, neque fas eſt eum immolari; ſed qui occidit, parricidii non damnatur: nam Lege tribunicià primâ cavetur. *Si quis eum qui eo Plebiſcito* SACER *ſit, occiderit, Parricida ne ſit:* ex quo quivis Homo malus atque improbus SACER appellari ſolet.

S. P. FESTUS de verb. ſignificat.

* Ῥωμύλου δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ πόλιν οἰκίσαντος, ἐκκαίδεκα γενεαῖς τῶν Τροϊκῶν ὕστερον, ἣν νῦν ἔχουσιν ὀνομασίαν μεταλαβόντες, ἔθνος τε μέϛιϛον ἐξ ἐλαχίϛου γενέϑαι σὺν χρόνῳ παρεσκεύασαν, καὶ περιφανέϛατον ἐξ ἀδηλοτάτου, τῶν τε δεομένων οἰκήσεως παρὰ σφίσι φιλανθρώπῳ ὑποδοχῇ· καὶ πολιτείας μεταδόσει τοῖς μετὰ τῦ γεναῖϛ ἐν πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσι, δούλων τε ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀϛοῖς εἶναι συγχωρήϑει, τύχης τε ἀνθρώπων ὐδεμιᾶς, εἰ μέλλοι τὸ κοινὸν ὀφελεῖν ἀπαξιώσει, ὑπὲρ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κόσμῳ τῦ πολιτεύματος ὃν ἐκ πολλῶν καϛεϛήσαντο παθημάτων, ἐκ πάντος καιρῦ λαμβάνοντές τι χρηϛιμόν.

ΔΙΟΝΥϹ. Ἁλικαρν. Ἀρχαίολ. βιϐ. α.

A CRUEL and dubious War had broke out between the *Romans* and a Tribe of the *Sabines*, the moſt potent of their Neighbours, upon the known Story of the *Rape* of their Virgins. The two Armies were engaged, the Battle fierce, and Darts flying thick, when the raviſhed Ladies, who had lived for ſome time in *Rome*, came ſhrieking into the Field, ventured in between the hoſtile Files, and beſought their Fathers and Brothers on one hand, and their Huſbands and Lovers on the other, to deſiſt from the *unnatural* War *. Their Prayers were effectual: a Peace was concluded between the two Nations, and *Romulus* agreed to divide his Kingdom with *Titus Tatius* the Sabine Prince upon a Condition then eaſily accepted, "That he would "come with his People and inhabit the City where their "Daughters and Siſters were ſettled before them."

THIS CONDUCT of the Founder of *Rome*, met with all the Succeſs which his Heart could wiſh, and his Humanity deſerved. His favourite City, which was to tranſmit his Name to Poſterity, flouriſhed beyond his Hopes; and particularly the Number of its Citizens increaſed ſo faſt, that he had the Pleaſure to lead out a Colony from *Rome* himſelf, in the *ſix* and *thirtieth* Year from its Foundation. After a glorious Life, ſpent in almoſt continual Wars, with a few Shocks of adverſe Fortune, and many Victories, he died in ſuch a manner as diſcovered the *Romans* to be a very jealous and cruel People.

HE HAD called the Senators together, to witneſs a ſolemn *Review* of the Army without the Town; but they were ſurprized with a ſudden Darkneſs, occaſioned by an Eclipſe of the Sun, and accompanied with a violent Tempeſt of Rain and Thunder, which diſperſed the Meeting, and after which neither the *King*, nor any *Veſtige* of him, was ever more ſeen on Earth †. It was given

* This famous Interpoſition of the *Roman Matrons* happened on the firſt Day of March, and in commemoration of it the *Matronalia* were inſtituted. See Horat. lib. iii. ode 8. ad Maecenatem.

† Romulus periiſſe ſolis defectione. Seneca ex Cicerone, Epiſt. cviii.

given out, that he was ſnatched up to Heaven in the Storm; and one *Julius Proculus* aſſured the People, that he had appeared to him next Morning with the Enſigns of Divinity, and told him, that he was now the God QUIRINUS, and that his new-founded City was to be the *Head* of the World: But a ſecret Suſpicion prevailed, that he was murdered and torn in pieces by his great Council or Senate, upon ſome Steps he had made towards abſolute Power *.

THE *Roman* State was now without a *Head*, and in ſome danger of continuing in that condition for a conſiderable Time: The different Nations who inhabited the City could not agree among themſelves, out of which of them the Man ſhould be choſen, whom they would entruſt with the regal Authority: neither was there any one Senator of ſuch ſuperior Merit and diſtinguiſhed Reputation, as to turn the Eyes of the People upon him, and encourage him to hope for the Kingdom. The Diſſenſion therefore of the ſeveral Nations occaſioned no Sedition in the State; as it was not attended with any private ambitious Deſign, to foment Diviſion and exaſperate the Parties againſt one another: It went no farther than to retard the Election, and keep the Throne vacant for more than a Year after *Romulus*'s Death.

DURING that time, the Want of a Leader might have proved of pernicious Conſequence to the Public, if any of their jealous Neighbours had watched the opportunity, and ſurprized them with a ſudden Invaſion. But the *Fathers*, to prevent ſuch Inconveniencies, fell upon a Scheme of *putting the Royalty into Commiſſion*, and executing that Commiſſion themſelves in their turns. They divided themſelves into *Tens*; and each *Ten* had the ſupreme Power, and did the Duty of the *Prince* for five Days.

* Χαλεπὴν δὲ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἄψασθαι τῶν ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩΝ, ᾗ ῥυῆναι λόγον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατ' αὐτῶν, ὡς πάλαι βαρυνόμενοι τῷ βασιλεύεσθαι, ᾗ μετασῆσαι τὸ κράτος εἰς ἑαυτοὺς θέλοντες, ἀνέλοιεν τὸν βασιλέα· ᾗ γὰρ εἰδέναι τραχύτερον ἤδη προσφέρεσθαι, ᾗ μοναρχικώτερον αὐτοῖς.

Days. One Senator of the *Ten* whoſe turn it was, had the Lictors carrying before him the Rods and Axes, the Enſigns of regal Authority; but the Thing itſelf was veſted in the whole Number: In this manner it went round the entire Body of the Senate in fifty Days, and then they began the Revolution a-new, and continued ſucceeding one another untill the Year was compleated.

BUT the *Roman* People, accuſtomed to the Triumphs and Careſſes of *Romulus*, who, for an obvious reaſon, liked them much better than he did the *Patricians*, grew weary of theſe *ſubſtituted* Sovereigns; and the Fathers themſelves, to avoid greater Evils, ſaw there was a Neceſſity to comply and create a King. They therefore ſent a Meſſage to the Aſſembly of the Commons, deſiring them to *name* the Perſon whom they inclined to raiſe to the ſovereign Dignity; and if he was thought worthy to ſucceed the great *Romulus*, the *Senate* would ratify the Nomination. This Meſſage was ſo agreable to the Commons, that not to be behind in Generoſity, they paſſed a Vote, by which they transferred their Right to the Senate, and impowered that auguſt Body to make choice of a *King* to govern the *Romans*.

THE *Fathers* were divided into almoſt equal Numbers of *Sabines*, and thoſe who bore the *Roman* Name; ſo that the danger of a Diſſenſion among them, was rather increaſed than diminiſhed by this new Power lodged in their hands: But there was a Man living at that time, not in *Rome*, but paſſing his days in a retired manner in the Country, whoſe Reputation for Wiſdom, Juſtice and Piety, was ſo univerſally eſtabliſhed, that his *Name* was no ſooner mentioned in the Senate, than both Parties ſeemed to forget their private Intereſts, and unanimouſly reſolved to call him to the Throne.

IT was *NUMA POMPILIUS*, a *Sabine* by Birth, and paſt his Youth; of a mild ſerene Diſpoſition, humane and beneficent;

ficent; and, becauſe of his ſingular Piety, and Sanctity of Manners, thought to be a *peculiar Favourite of Heaven.* He was with ſome difficulty perſuaded to quit his loved Retirement, and involve himſelf in the Cares of Government. But, having firſt conſulted the Gods, he conſented to go with the Ambaſſadors from the Senate; came to *Rome*, and was veſted with the Regal Dignity by a ſolemn and unanimous Aſſent of the People.

THIS *extraordinary* Perſon came to govern at a very critical Juncture. The State was in a *feveriſh* unſettled Habit: It conſiſted of bold daring Spirits, Men originally of deſperate Fortunes, unacquainted with peaceful Laws, and accuſtomed to Violence: They had now for a good many Years been employed in continual Wars, which had inured them more than ever to *Rapine* and *Blood*; and being at preſent exceedingly elated with their Victories under *Romulus*, it was uncertain which way, or how ſoon this *high-fed* Humour might take a Vent.

THE wiſe *NUMA* was perfectly aware of this dangerous Diſpoſition, and turned all his Thoughts, *how to mollify and wear it out.* He well knew, no *human* Authority would be a ſufficient Curb for it; and that if a fierce lawleſs Multitude were directly oppoſed in their Inclinations, it might but ſerve to irritate them againſt their Leaders, and make them break out into greater Exceſſes of Fury and Violence. He therefore borrowed the Aſſiſtance of *Heaven*, and employed the more benign Aſpects and ſocial Influences of *Religion*, to ſoften their rugged Minds, and impreſs them with a Reverence for the *Gods*, that it might teach them ſome Regard to *Men* *. Theſe he endeavoured to introduce into every important Step of their Life, and artfully infuſed them into the chief Parts of the Adminiſtration.

IN

* Principio, nimium promptos ad bella Quirites
Molliri placuit jure, Deûmque metu:
Inde datæ leges.——— Ovid. Faſtor. lib. III. § 3.

In the firſt place, after his own great Example, nothing of moment was to be ſet about, without being firſt aſſured, that the Gods did approve, and would favour the Undertaking: and *great* was the Decency and Circumſpection to be uſed in every Step of the religious Performance. Of this Conduct he had ſet an illuſtrious Pattern himſelf, in refuſing to accept the *Royalty*, untill he had ſolemnly conſulted the Gods by *Auſpicy* (obſerving the Flight of Birds to the right or left, or towards certain Diviſions of the Heavens), whether it was their Good-pleaſure he ſhould be *King at Rome*, or remain in the Country in a private Station?

To give the greater authority to this general Ordinance, he appointed the various *Orders* of Prieſts or *ſacred Miniſters*, who were to have the direction of this and of all religious matters. He preſcribed the method of their Sacrifices, the Seaſons of their Feaſts, the Forms of Prayer, and Hymns to particular Deities, with the neceſſary Rites and Precautions, in order to make them *holy* and *acceptable* to the Gods. He divided the Year into twelve Months, that his Church might have a regular *Kalendar*; he aſſigned the Funds for the Prieſts Subſiſtance, and defraying the expences of the public Sacrifices: He even condeſcended to appoint the Form of the holy *Veſtments* and ſacred *Utenſils*; and, in a word, ſettled both the Matter and the Manner of their religious Worſhip. *Thus* he became the Author of their *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, which ſerved at preſent to divert the martial Ardour of the Citizens, by fixing their attention upon the Service of *Heaven*, and (which does not always happen in ſuch Inſtitutions), proved afterwards *an uſeful Part of their civil Eſtabliſhment*.

I muſt not pretend to enumerate the various Orders of Prieſts, and Societies of Prophets inſtituted by NUMA; but one or two of them deſerve to be particularly obſerved, as they diſcover a little of the Spirit and Intention of the Lawgiver. He appointed a *Flamen*, or holy Prieſt, whoſe Head was to be covered with a woollen

woollen Garment *, to do ſacrifice to *Jupiter* the ſupreme Deity, and Father, as they called him, both of Gods and Men. In this there was nothing particular: But as the ſame time he appointed another *Flamen* of the ſame Order and Dignity to do ſacrifice to *Romulus*, or as he was called in Heaven, *Quirinus*, the Founder of *Rome*; and a third to *Mars* the God of War, and the reputed Father of *Romulus*. In honour of this laſt Deity, he likewiſe inſtituted the twelve *Salii*, a proceſſional ſaltant Order of Prieſts, who on holy Days carried the *Ancilia thro' the Streets*, being *twelve Shields* of heavenly Workmanſhip, and a ſort of *Palladium* in *Rome*, dancing as they went, and ſinging the Verſes † preſcribed by *Numa*. Theſe were ſome of the Contrivances of this wiſe and venerable Prince, to put his mixed Multitude in mind, "That they belonged to a Community formed "and protected by the GODS; to give them a high Notion of "the *Public*, raiſe a *national Paſſion*, and mould them into that "Character of Piety and Patriotiſm which he aimed at, and "obtained."

HE LIVED to a great age, and had time to perfect his religious Plan, and let it take root in the minds of the People in a long and peaceful Reign of three and forty years: Nor is it eaſy to imagine with what *Ardour and Complacency* this old King applied himſelf to frame and recommend theſe Inſtitutions; or with what Aſſiduity he enforced the Practice of them by his Example. It was ſuch, that one would almoſt be tempted to ſuſpect that he was fully perſuaded of their divine Authority HIMSELF, while he was both preſcribing the Rites, and likewiſe laying down the Method, and appointing Times

* Purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu,
Ne qua inter ſanctos ignes, in honore Deorum
Hoſtilis facies occurrat, et omina turbet.
Hunc ſocii morem ſacrorum, hunc ipſe teneto;
Hac caſti maneant in relligione nepotes. VIRGIL. Æneid. iii.

† Saliare carmen. See HORACE, Lib. I. Od. 36, 37. Lib. II. Od. 3. et ad AUGUSTUM Epiſtol. Lin. 86.

and Perſons for their Performance. Perhaps it is not ſo uncommon a thing as many People ſuppoſe, for a grave well-diſpoſed Perſon, to be the Author of ſome ſacred Maxims in Belief or Regulations in Practice; and then, or afterwards, firmly to believe his own new Syſtem to be the pure genuine Inſtitution of Heaven. *

NUMA employed his whole Life in modelling the *Roman* Religion, and inſtructing the newly erected Prieſthood. He was every now and then *adding* ſome new Proceſſion, ſome ſolemn Feaſt or general Sacrifice, to the number of the public Aſſemblies, which called the People frequently together, and put them in mind of their *Country* as the Cauſe of their Meeting: For while they were aſſembled in the Temples, or were ſtanding in Silence round the ſacred Altars, they felt the awe of the *Public-preſence*, and beheld with their eyes the Beauty and Majeſty of that Community, for whoſe Proſperity they were making vows to the Gods. He likewiſe inſtructed them in a very feeling manner in the natures of the chief *Virtues*, by building *Temples* to them; and appointed a particular Service to TRUTH or *Honeſty*, the Parent of them all.

BY theſe and ſuch like methods, he at laſt obtained his great Purpoſe; which was to infuſe into this fierce People a ſettled and fixed opinion,

"THAT the GODS, an immortal Race inhabiting the Sky, "have the ſupreme Direction and Government of all Things: "that every Event, proſperous or adverſe, is ordered and con-"ducted by their Providence: That *Mankind* is their pecu-"liar Care, upon whom they fix their Eyes, and obſerve what "every

* The learned and honeſt Paſquier, in his Pleading againſt the Incorporation of the Jeſuits into the Univerſity of Paris, has this remarkable Sentence. "Car lors que "nous ſommes frappez d'un zele de religion, nous penſons quelquesfois faire grand "ſacrifice a Dieu, voire quand par Voyes *inaccoutumées et obliques* faiſons gagner "vogue a nos opinions."

Recherches de la France, Liv. III. ch. XLIII.

" every Perſon is doing; with what views and diſpoſitions each " acquits himſelf of his Duty to his *Country* and to *them*; re- " warding the good and worthy, and puniſhing the perverſe " according to their Demerits." *

In *conſequence* of this Perſuaſion, he gave a very ample Authority to a venerable *Order* of Men, who by certain Signs and Marks contained in the Science tranſmitted to them, ſhould learn the Good-pleaſure of the Gods in every Affair, which Mortals can undertake, and were to be *Interpreters* of it to the Community. They were called *AUGURS*, and were incorporated into a Society or *College*, without whoſe permiſſion no great Deſign was to be formed, nor a ſingle Step taken in the execution. They predicted the ſucceſs of War, and determined the expediency of a Peace. They diſſolved the grand Meetings of the People at their pleaſure, tho' called by the Prince, or the higheſt Officer of State. They reſcinded the Laws paſſed in any Aſſembly, which they judged unlawfully called or held, and ordered the greateſt Magiſtrate in *Rome* to abdicate and lay down his Office, if they thought him unduly elected. In a word, there was nothing to be undertaken at home or abroad by any Perſon in a public Station, without *their* Approbation; and there are Inſtances where the Commanders of their Armies have quitted an Enterprize in the height of Succeſs, when warned to deſiſt by the *Augurs*. †

* Sit igitur hoc jam a principio perſuaſum civibus, *Dominos eſſe omnium rerum ac moderatores Deos*; eaque quæ gerantur eorum geri judicio ac numine; eoſdemque optimé de genere hominum mereri; et qualis quiſque ſit, quid agat, quid in ſe admittat, quâ mente, quâ pietate Religiones colat intueri; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem.

M. Tull. Cicer. de LEGIBUS, Lib. II.

† Multa in collegio noſtro præclara; ſed hoc de quo agimus in primis, quod ut quiſque aetate antecedit, ita ſententia principatum tenet; neque ſolum *honore* antecedentibus, ſed iis etiam qui cum IMPERIO ſunt, majores natu AUGURES anteponuntur.

M. T. CICERO. Cato major.

UNDER Covert of this ſacred Inſtitution their excellent Lawgiver reached the other great End which he propoſed; to put a *ſtanding Check* upon the giddy Multitude, that they ſhould not have it in their power to do any thing in their Aſſemblies detrimental to the Public, or come to any violent Reſolution, without ſome of the wiſeſt Men in *Rome* having it in *their* Power to prorogue the Meeting or annul the Reſolve. Accordingly it was provided, that theſe *Interpreters* of the Will of Heaven, ſhould be of the moſt eminent of the *old Patricians*, and ſhould be elected, *not* by the People, like the other Prieſts; but; upon the Death of any *Augur*, the remaining Members of the College met by themſelves, and *adopted* another in his room. Their Order continued in ſuch high reputation from its firſt Eſtabliſhment to the Decline of the Empire, that when the Emperors came to accumulate the chief Dignities of the State in their own Perſons, one of the firſt they aſſumed was the *Augurſhip:* And it is a very common thing, among the other Enſigns of Power on the Reverſes of their Medals, to ſee the *Augur's Lituus* *, a kind of a *paſtoral Staff*, with which he marked out the Compartments of the Sky in the Exerciſe of his Profeſſion.

IF any one ſhould aſk now, "By what means theſe Inſtituti-"ons came to be ſo readily received, and chearfully ſubmitted "to, as the Dictates of Heaven?" I believe there were two things which contributed chiefly to make them acceptable to the *Romans*. Firſt, a good part of theſe ſacred Rites were not *purely* of NUMA's own Invention; but many, nay *moſt* of them, had ſome root in the minds of a conſiderable number of the Citizens, as they had come from any neighbouring State who practiſed this or the other Rite, adopted by the religious Lawgiver. The *Body of Worſhip* therefore preſcribed by him, was not altogether

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* Virga brevis, in parte qua robuſtior eſt, incurva, quâ Augures utuntur.
A. GELLI. Noct. Attic. Lib. V. cap. VIII.

a new Religion to them; only, as it was now more connected, was ſet about with greater Pomp than they had been accuſtomed to ſee it, and the ſeveral Parts of it performed with more Decency, it took a new Form, and became the more affecting and venerable.

IT would indeed be a mighty difficult, perhaps an impoſſible Undertaking, to introduce all at once into any Nation a Religion *wholly new*; nor can I recollect any one Inſtance in Hiſtory of its having ever been done, tho' frequently attempted. Nations at times have been extirpated, and the Planters who came in their room, have been of a new Perſuaſion; or a particular Sect has been driven out of a Country, and their Remains haraſſed by various Cruelties untill they totally diſappeared: But a People's having been prevailed upon by *any* method, Force or Fraud, and leaſt of all the former, to receive *at once* a new Set of religious Principles and Practices, to *none* of which they had been formerly accuſtomed, nor to any *Reſemblance* of them, is a Revolution in human Affairs of which I know no Example.

THERE is, doubtleſs, a conſiderable Difference, when a Religion is to be planted in a Country which had *none* before, but whoſe Inhabitants were living rude and barbarous in a ſavage uncultivated State; and when a Deſign is formed to introduce a *new* Religion, everſive of their former Belief, and aboliſhing their admired Model of Worſhip. The firſt has been accompliſhed by proper methods in many Inſtances: The laſt never that I heard of, except in the Courſe of the Adventures of the *Incas* and *Iroquois* in *America*, whoſe wonderful Succeſs I leave to the Conſideration of the modern *Miſſionaries*.

OPINION, they ſay, cannot be *forced*, no not by ourſelves; *infuſed*, it may be; and altered too by *Time* and *Art*: and the chief Dexterity of that *Art* muſt be to colour over the new Tenets, and make them as like our former Creed as it is poſſible. Thus the celebrated religious Founders of Antiquity adapted their Doctrine to the Notions already received in their reſpective

ſpective Countries. *Zoroaſter*, in a happy Climate, directed his chief Adoration to the *Sun*, and to *Fire*, his Image here upon Earth: The *Egyptians*, fed by the *Nile*, to *Moiſture*, and the Power of Vegetation: *Zamolxis* under a frozen Sky, connected his Rites with the Joys of *Wine*, and promiſed to his *Scythians*, like our Saxon *Odin*, an eternal Revel with himſelf in a noble Hall, as the Reward of their Piety and Virtues *; in the ſame manner the *Roman* Lawgiver adopted the *Sabine* and *Tuſcan* Gods, the ancient Deities of Italy, and only added ſuch new Divinities, and ſuch a Form of Worſhip, as the Exigencies of his new-founded City ſeemed to require.

THE *other* Piece of *Numa*'s Conduct which chiefly contributed to make him ſucceſsfull in ſettling his religious Scheme, was of a more particular nature, and liker ſome of the pious Frauds of modern Times. He either gave it out himſelf, or artfully encouraged an Opinion, which in the end prevailed as a certain Truth, " That his ſacred Inſtitutions were not of his own, nor " of any human Invention, but of an undoubted divine Origi- " nal, and revealed to him immediately from Heaven. ' It ' was not for *nothing*, they ſaid, that a Prince of ſo mild and ' humane a Diſpoſition, forſook the Society of Men, retired ' into the Fields and Woods, and went frequently down to paſs ' ſo much of his time in a loneſome Cave: That he was richly ' compenſated with a more ſublime Commerce, and enjoyed ' celeſtial communion with a female Divinity—who admired ' his Piety, and loved his Perſon': It was the Nymph *Egeria*, a rural

* That it was a national Belief is evident from the Story of *Muſeus*, who brought the very ſame Doctrine from *Thracia* into *Greece*. Μουσαῖος δὲ τυτῶν ϛεανικώτερα τ' ἀγαθὰ ϗ ὁ ὑιος ἀυτῦ παρὰ θεῶν διδόασι τοῖς δικαίοις· εἰς ᾍΑΔΟΥ γὰρ ἀγαγόντες τῷ λόγῳ, ϗ κατακλίναντες, ϗ συμπόσιον τῶν ὈΣΙΩΝ κατασκευάσαντες, ἐϛεφανομένους ποιῶσι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἤδη διάγειν μεθύοντας, ἡγησάμενοι κάλλιϛον ἀρετῆς μισθὸν, ΜΕΘΗΝ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ.

Πλατων ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ βιβ. β.

rural Goddeſs, who uſed to meet him in the Night at a Fountain that bore her Name, and by whom in their familiar Congreſſes, he was informed of the moſt acceptable Way of worſhipping the Gods, that he might inſtruct his People in their ſeveral Rites, and, by the Practice of them, draw down their Bleſſing upon the Roman State. When this pious Tale was once believed, (and *believed it would be*) *Numa*'s ſacred Preſcriptions would meet with an eaſy Reception; every Command of his would be a *divine Oracle*; to neglect it would be a Contempt of Heaven, a ſpurning at its Authority, and infallibly bring down the Indignation of the Gods upon the Offender and his Poſterity.

BUT there are ſo many Stories told by the Ancients, even in *polite* and knowing Times, of the *Loves* of the Gods, and of their Heroes being the *Sons* of a God, or *loved* by ſome Goddeſs, that it cannot be diſagreable to hear the Opinion of one of their own Prieſts concerning theſe *myſtical* Amours. The learned and pious PLUTARCH, a very ſpeculative ſort of a Man, having related the Intercourſe between *Numa* and his Goddeſs, falls into a Strain of Contemplation upon the Subject. 'It is plain, ſays he, that this Account reſembles the ancient 'Tradition of the Phrygians concerning *Atthis*, of the Bithyni-'ans concerning *Herodotus*, and of the Arcadians concerning '*Endymion*, who, as well as many other bleſſed Perſons, were 'believed to be loved by Goddeſſes; and the Report that they 'were ſo, was *received* and *ratified* by theſe Nations.

'AND indeed, it is ſomewhere recorded, That the *divine* '*Nature* rejoices not in Horſes, nor is fond of Birds; but its 'Delights are among the *Human kind*; and therefore deſires to 'cohabit with the eminently Good of the mortal Race; nor does 'it refuſe or deſpiſe the familiar Converſe of a chaſte and divine 'Man. But, that God or any good Genius can give and take

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'the mutual Fruition of a human Perſon, or taſte the Pleaſures 'ariſing from the Bloom of Youth, is a matter of ſome difficulty 'to be believed.

'AT the ſame time, the *Egyptians* ſeem to have made a plau-'ſible diſtinction, when they ſay, "That it is not impoſſible, "that the Spirit of God may draw nigh to a *Woman*, and beget "in her ſome Principles of Generation; but that no *Man* can "mix with a Divinity, or have any carnal Converſation with a "Spirit."* 'Yet they forget, That every thing which *mixes* 'with another, yields an equal Communication of itſelf to that 'Object with which it mixes.— However,— to ſay, That there 'is a *Friendſhip* between the Gods and Men, and *ſuch* a Love 'following upon it, as makes them watch over their Favourite's 'Manners and Virtue, is decent and becoming.

'THEY are not therefore extravagant, who, in a figurative 'way of ſpeaking, relate the Loves of *Apollo* with *Hyacinthus* 'and *Phorbas*, and *Admetus*, and with the celebrated Sicyonian, '*Hippolytus*: That beautiful Youth, they ſay, never took ſhip-'ping from Sicyon to paſs over to Cirrha, but *Pythia*, the Del-'phic Propheteſs, gave ſigns that the God knew it, and was glad, 'by pronouncing from the Oracle,

'*Hippolytus, loved Youth, now ſails the Sea.*†

'*Pan* likewiſe, is ſaid to have loved *Pindar*, the Theban Poet, 'and to have admired his Songs; and ſome Deity favoured the 'Parian *Archilochus*, and did honour to *Heſiod* when dead, be-'cauſe of their Muſes. It was commonly reported that the God 'Eſculapius uſed frequently to come and lodge with *Sophocles* 'the Tragic Poet, while he lived;— a Report that has many

'marks

* Ὡς γυναικὶ μὲν οὐκ ἀδύνατον ΠΝΕΥΜΑ πλησιάσαι ΘΕΟΥ, ἢ τινας ἐντεκεῖν ἀρχὰς γενέσεως· ἀνδρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι σύμμιξις πρὸς θεὸν, οὐδὲ ὁμιλία σώματος.

Πλυτάρχυ ΝΟΥΜΑΣ.

† That Oracle being pronounced by a *Prieſteſs*, living in the Neighbourhood of Cirrha, makes it, methinks, a little ſuſpicious.

'marks of Truth in it, to be perceived at this day: and it was 'ſaid that *another* God had taken care to have his Funerals de- 'cently performed at his death.

'Now if we grant theſe things concerning the *Poets*, with 'what face can we diſbelieve the Deity's approaching to *Za-* '*leucus* and *Minos*, and converſing with *Zoroaſter*, *Lycurgus* and '*Numa*; Men who governed great Kingdoms, and laid down 'Plans of the Happineſs of Nations? Should we not ſay, that 'the Gods converſed probably with theſe great Perſons, when 'in a *ſerious* Mood, to direct and inſtruct them in things of high 'Import; and that they ſought the gayer company of the mu- 'ſical poetic Tribe, when inclined to *Pleaſantry?* But if any one 'is of another way of thinking, *the Road is broad, as* Bachyl- 'lides *ſays, and will hold us both:* for neither is there *any great* '*harm* in that other Opinion which ſome entertain concerning '*Lycurgus* and *Numa*, and the reſt of the Lawgivers, "That "having had to do with headſtrong, and unruly Multitudes, "and deſigning to make great Innovations in Government, 'they *feigned* a Command from Heaven, by a wholeſome Poli- "cy, tending directly to the Good of thoſe whom it *deceived.*"

SUCH then was the Conduct and Character of this religious King; almoſt every way different from his Predeceſſor's; but no leſs conducive to the Welfare and Proſperity of the new-formed State. *Romulus* by his conſtant Wars had ſecured and aggrandized it abroad, and *Numa* by his pious Policy, laid the Foundations of good Order and Tranquillity at home: Each was true to his particular Character; at the ſame time that *that Character* was wonderfully fitted to the Exigencies of the Public. *Romulus*, young, ambitious and warlike, led out the Inhabitants to one Expedition after another, and bribed them by Plunder and ample Privileges to keep together and obey: while the retired and contemplative *Numa*, unfit for War, ſat at home, and contrived *other* Methods of governing an unruly Multitude more agreable to his own Temper and Manners.

ONE of his Regulations, of a *civil* nature, but admirably calculated to ſupport his other Inſtitutions, muſt not be forgot. He knew that his religious Exerciſes were excellent *Allays* for the fiery Spirit of a martial People, and might ſerve to occupy or reſtrain it for ſome time; but if they were not kept buſy ſome *other* way, it would ſtill be in hazard of taking a ſudden Looſe, and endangering the public Tranquillity. He therefore divided the Citizens into *Pagi* or *Villages*, according to the Grounds they poſſeſſed, and appointed a *Curio* or Inſpector over each Diviſion, who was to make his report immediately to *Numa* himſelf, that he might encourage the diligent Huſbandman, and puniſh the lazy. Thus he promoted the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary of all Employments, and prevented the two great Cauſes of Vice, *Idleneſs* and *Want*.

I WOULD not however be underſtood to aſſert, that theſe two Kings had deliberately framed a *compleat Plan* of the *Roman* Conſtitution; that they had defined the Nature and Ends of the ſeveral Offices, had preſcribed their Powers, and *finiſhed* the *Deſign*; far from it: the great Fabric of the *Roman Polity* was not reared at once. It aſſumed its auguſt Form by ſlow Degrees. It was after many Changes made in the principal Parts, and Trials taken of the new Regulations, that it firſt attained its juſt Proportion; and afterwards, when taught by Misfortunes, and hardened by Toils, that it arrived at its full Pitch of manly Strength *. The Additions therefore and Alterations made in the Government after theſe two Princes, were brought about in the ſame manner, by the natural Working and Fermentation

* ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ δὲ τὸ μὲν τέλος ταὐτὸ πεποίηνται τῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κατασάσεως, ὑ μὴν διὰ λόγυ· διὰ δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἢ πραγμάτων, ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰεὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις ἐπιγνώσεως αἱρούμενοι τὸ βέλτιον· ὕυτως ἦλθον ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ μὲν ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΩ τέλος, κάλλιστον δὲ σύημα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς Πολιτειῶν.

ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ. Ἱσορ. βιβ. ς.

mentation of the ſeveral Bodies that compoſed the Common Wealth, as the Fuel for their Paſſions increaſed, that is, according to the Advances they made in Wealth and Dominion.

NEITHER the private Fortunes of the ſubſequent Princes, nor thoſe of the Public under their Adminiſtration, are ſo material for underſtanding the *Roman* CONSTITUTION, as to require a particular Diſcuſſion. It is ſufficient to know, that during a Succeſſion of five other Kings, who governed for the Space of one hundred and ſixty three Years, the City was ſtill increaſing; public Buildings were raiſed, its Territories enlarged, and, under the Reign of Tarquin the Proud, the laſt of the Kings, its Inhabitants were prepared for throwing off the Yoke, by being made to feel the Preſſure of a Tyranny.

I. *TULLUS HOSTILIUS* was a warlike Prince, who defeated the Veientes and Sabines, incorporated the Albans into *Rome*, aſſigned them the Celian Hill for their Habitation, and tore their perfidious General *Metius Fufetius* between four Horſes.

II. *ANCUS MARTIUS*, peaceable and pious, was a Grandſon of *Numa* by a Daughter; his Father unknown. He wrote out *Numa*'s Laws, and publiſhed them in the Forum; built a Bridge over the *Tiber*, and led a Colony to *Oſtia*, which made *Rome* a Sea-port. He conquered ſeveral of the *Latine* Tribes, and increaſed the City, like *Romulus*, by tranſplanting them into the *Aventine* Hill.

III. *TARQUINIUS PRISCUS*, rich, political, and magnificent; he deſigned the *Circus maximus*, walled a part of the City with hewed Stone, began the great Work of the Common Sewers, laid out the Ground for the *Capitol*, and took *Collatia* and its Territory from the Sabines.

IV. *SERVIUS TULLIUS*, moderate, wiſe and eloquent, the Son of *Ocriſia* a Captive, born in *Tarquinius Priſcus*'s Houſe, married his Daughter, and ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. He firſt courted the People to ballance the Nobility, brought in the *Agrarian* Laws, inſtituted the *Pagi*, invented the admi-

rable Regulation of the *Cenſus*, which made the Management of a great Empire plain and regular, like that of a private Family; and by its means put a check upon the Power of the *lower Populace*, by dividing the Centuries, one hundred and ninety three in number, into ſix Claſſes, the firſt and richeſt whereof made a Majority of the People: He built the *Eſquiliæ*, reduced *Tuſcany*, aſſembled the grand Council of the *Latin-Name*, renounced the Royal Right to judge in *prviate* Cauſes; and had thoughts of laying down the Royalty itſelf, or of aſſociating another in it, upon the Model of *Sparta*, whence he was ſprung.

V. *TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS*, haughty and tyrannical, murdered the good *Servius* his Father-in-law, ſeized the Kingdom by violence, deſpiſed the Senate, oppreſſed the People with ſervile Work, built the Capitol, dug the great Sewer, overcame the *Gabians* by the Treachery of his Son *Sextus Tarquinius*, who raviſhed *Lucretia*, and occaſioned the Abolition of the Royalty.

But tho' it be not neceſſary to enter into a more particular Detail of theſe Tranſactions, there are ſome peculiarly happy Circumſtances in the riſing Fate of *Rome*, which deſerve our Attention, as they ſeem to have had no ſmall Share in her future Glory. And firſt it was the great Good-fortune of the *Romans*, that the Founder of their State was obliged to uſe his new Subjects ſo tenderly, and make ſuch a Diviſion of his Power with them, as to lay the Foundation of their *Liberties*, and conſequently of all their After-greatneſs. Under him the People got ſuch a Taſte of Independency, that the wiſeſt of the following Princes did not venture to incroach upon their Rights, and when the Attempt upon them was made at laſt by the *Tarquins*, it ended in the Ruin and Extirpation of their Family.

As for the *Patricians*, they had from the beginning born a great Sway in the Adminiſtration, and were in a manner *let into the Secret* of Government by the *Inter-regnums*, whoſe long Continuance, and conſtant Return after the Death of every King, both

both ſhewed the Kingdom to be elective, and diſcovered no ſmall Propenſity among the Fathers to exerciſe the ſupreme Power. It was on theſe Occaſions, that by a political Diviſion of themſelves into *Tens*, with the Royal Authority veſted in each Ten for five Days, they gave, in my Opinion, an evident Proof of their *being no indolent thoughtleſs Race, accuſtomed to bow tamely to a Superior*; but a keen hardy Set of Men, taught by Experience and Dangers what it was to govern, and be governed, without being either Tyrants or Slaves.

ANOTHER Piece of the *Roman* Good-fortune, was to have a *religious Lawgiver* for their ſecond King: One who made a *proper Proviſion* for the Demands of human Nature, with reſpect to Objects of *Terrour* and *Adoration*, and who had the grand Art of *guiding* theſe predominant Paſſions, and turning the Exerciſe of them to the Service of the State. This he did by a Set of ſolemn Rites, which perſuaded the *Romans*, happily for themſelves and the Public, "That they and it were under "the particular Protection of Heaven; and that if they conti- "nued in the devout Practice of that Model of Worſhip, the "Gods would ſtill prove propitious, would raiſe their City to "be the *Head of the World*, and make *Rome* give Laws to the "moſt diſtant Nations."

BUT the moſt remarkable Circumſtance in the early Fate of the *Roman* State, was the *Duration* of the Regal Period: It laſted while they were young and helpleſs, as it ceaſed when they were able to take care of themſelves. A ſmall Misfortune is ſufficient to bring utter Ruin upon a feeble new-formed Society; ſuch as the Diſſenſion or Delays frequent in the Proceedings of large Aſſemblies; and while the *Romans* were in that tender Condition, the ſupreme Power was fortunately lodged in a ſingle Perſon, whoſe Honour and Intereſt it was to protect them: But as ſoon as they were tolerably ſettled, and no longer in hazard of being ſhaken by ſuch Accidents, then, and not

till

till then, were their *Maſters* removed, and room given to the Emulation and Virtues of the Citizens to exert themſelves in their own and their Country's Cauſe.

For now, inſtead of a mixed Multitude of Fugitives, ſuddenly called together, and eaſily diſperſed *, here was, in almoſt two Centuries and an half that the City had ſtood, a *regular well-diſciplined Nation:* There was a bold, induſtrious and warlike People; an active, experienced, and uneffeminate Nobility; an high Opinion of the *Roman* State, and a firm Perſuaſion of the Favour and Aſſiſtance of Heaven for its Proſperity.

This happy Change in the State of the *Roman* Affairs, the Effect of ſuch a Chain of Accidents as we have deduced, ſeems to have paved the Way for the ſwift Advances they afterwards made to Conqueſt and Empire; and when we join to it their *Situation*, among ſo many hoſtile Nations, and the *warlike Education*, if I may ſo call it, of their own State, it prevents our being ſurpriſed when we come to the Conſular-Period, at ſuch a Diſplay of military and political Virtue, as has not its Parallel in *Hiſtory*.

BOOK

* Brevi, multitudo diverſa atque vaga, concordiâ Civitas facta eſt.
Cicero apud Auguſtin. Ep. 8.

BOOK II.

I HAVE met with abundance of Men, Perſons of good Judgment in other reſpects, and for the moſt part of ſome Experience in Affairs, who affect a kind of *Scepticiſm* in Politics. They entertain an Opinion, that the *Form* of a Government contributes but little to animate the People, or to give them that noble Spirit which diſtinguiſhes a Nation, and makes them ſhine above their Neighbours. But as the Argument will not bear reaſoning, from the Nature of the Thing, "*that* "*one Conſtitution may not be better than another*," they ſupport their Opinion with Inſtances: FRANCE, for example, they ſay, has produced greater Men, and ſent forth more powerfull Armies of late, than ever ſhe did when in full poſſeſſion of her Privileges: while the VENETIAN Republic, in an uninterrupted courſe of Liberty, hires foreign Troops to protect her, pays a foreign General to command them, and ſcarcely produces a great Captain, or exalted Genius, a Native of *Venice*, in an Age.

IN ORDER *to account* fully for this Prodigy, it would be neceſſary to deduce a great part of the Hiſtory of theſe Countries; and to ſhew, 'How, under contrary Names, a tyrannical enſla-'ving Rule hath prevailed in the one, tho' called a *Common-'wealth*; and that the other has been, in many reſpects, *free* un-'der an arbitrary Government.' But this is not the proper Place for ſuch a Deduction: Whoever reads the Hiſtory of the *two* States with Attention, will find, that firſt the conſtant Wars which *France* waged with *England*, and then their own *civil* Wars, which raged for five Kings Reigns, formed the *Soldiery* *;

ery *; and that the general *Civility* of *Manners*, and *Forms* of *Juſtice* originally introduced by their now aboliſhed or deſpiſed Laws, ſtand them *inſtead* of a Conſtitution †. Civil War is a ſort of *military Liberty*; and a prevalent Cuſtom is a *Law without a Sanction*.

FRANCE has many natural Advantages, which require great Abuſe of Power and vaſt Miſrule to overmatch and cruſh them: It is a wide fertile Kingdom; a Climate always famed for a numerous martial Breed; its Inhabitants are ingenious and active; and tho' it be neither *Law* nor *Juſtice* (which their Princes trample upon at pleaſure) but *Precedent*, and a kind of *political Humanity* that protects them from the Ravages of abſolute Power, yet, in effect, they *are* frequently protected, and, under a tolerable Adminiſtration, enjoy ſeveral of the Bleſſings of a better State. It is true, *they ly at mercy*; and a King of France may cut off a Subject's Head, and ſeize his Eſtate, with as much Impunity as his ſublime Highneſs the *Grand Signior*; as the late *Lewis* XIV. with equal Cruelty and Folly, murdered and baniſhed many thouſands of his moſt induſtrious Subjects. But it is not ſo *uſual* in the one Country as the *other*; it wanted ſome Pretence like Religion, and would elſe be an *unpolite*, if not an *illegal* thing, in the moſt Chriſtian King to do it.

As for the moſt ſerene REPUBLIC, it is long, ſince the *Corruption* of Manners that overſpread Italy, and high Luxury, the Effect

* From the Time of *Francis* II. to the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. including 60 Years.

† "Ce Lieu et Souverain Parlement——a eté toûjours deſtiné pour les *Affaires* "publiques, et Verification des Edicts——et fut trouvé bon que les Volontez ge- "nerales de nos Rois, n'obtinſſent point lieu d'Edicts ſinon qu'elles eûſſent eté "verifiées et omologuées en ce Lieu." *And a little before*, "En ce lieu ſe deci- "doient toutes Affaires qui importoient quelque conſequence au Royaume: e- "toient reçeuës par le Roi les Fois et Hommages des Princes etrangers: —— e- "toient ſemblablement omologuées les volontez du Roy, c'eſt a ſçavoir celles qui "concernoient le Fait generale de la France:——En ce lieu de meme façon ſe ter- "minoient les differends des plus grands Princes, et principalement de ceux qui "etoient accuſez de Trahiſons et Rebellions, et Crimes de Leze-Majeſté.

PASQUIER Recherches de la France, Liv. II. chap. II. et III.

Effect of immenſe Wealth, firſt enfeebled their State. This is an Evil againſt which they made no Proviſion; as indeed it is the hardeſt thing in the World to make it effectually. It was brought upon them by their early Proſperity, when, after a cruel Struggle with the *Genoeſe*, and humbling the Pride of *Piſa*, they remained Maſters of the Mediterranean; the *Perſian* and *Indian* Trade paſſed then thro' their Hands *, and the Commodities of theſe Countries were diſperſed by *Venetian* Merchants over all the weſtern World. VENICE became the *Mart of Europe*, and drew incredible Sums for the yearly Returns of her Merchandice from the richeſt Cities, and moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms around her. Then it was that ſhe raiſed her Spirits, formed Deſigns upon the Liberties of *Italy* †, ſeized upon many Towns, and reſolved to tread in the ſame Steps as ancient *Rome* had done before.

* *Sola la Reina del Mar d'*Adria, *volta*
De l'Oriente a le Provincie à i Regni,
Da le Diſcordie altrui libera e ſciolta,
Ruminava ſedendo alti Diſegni;
E gran parte di Grecia havea gia tolta
Di mano a gli empi Uſurpatori indegni.

TASSONE Secchia Rapita. Cant. I. § iv.

† *Mà i* VINITIANI *aſpirando al Dominio di tutta la* Romagna, *havevano mandati dopo la morte d'*Aleſſandro, *molti Soldati a* Ravenna, *co'quali una notte all'improviſo aſſaltarono con grande Impeto la Città* di Ceſena.—*E credibile, che nel Senato non mancaſſino di quei medeſimi che havevano già diſſuaſo l'implicarſi nelle coſe di* Piſa, *il ricever in pegno i Porti del Reame di* Napoli, *ed il divider col Ré di* Francia *il ducato di* Milano—*Mà eſſendo ſtati i Conſigli ambitioſi favoriti da Succeſſi tanto felici, e però ſpiegate tutte le Vele al* Vento ſi *proſpero della Fortuna, non erano uditi.*

F. GUICCIARDINI Hiſt. d'Italia. Lib. VI.

'*Haver i Padri loro ed eſſi ſucceſſivamente atteſo in tutte le Occaſioni ad ampliar l'Im-*
'*perio* Veneto *con ſcoperta Profeſſione di aſpirare ſempre a Coſe maggiori:* —*pochi*
'*meſi indietro ſi proponevano nell'animo* lo Imperio di tutta Italia: and afterwards, I
'Venitiani *procedendo con grandiſſima Ambizione, poſpoſti riſpetti della Guiſtitia, e della*
'*oſſervanza della Fede, ed occupando tutto quello di che ſe gl'offeriva l'occaſione, havevano*
'*ſcopertamente cercato di ſottoporſi* tutta Italia: *Lequali coſe facevano univerſalmente*
'*molto odioſo il Nome loro, odioſo ancora piu per la Fama che riſuonava per tutto*
'*dell'Alterezza naturale a quella Nazione.* Idem, Lib. VIII.

BUT in the midſt of her high Thoughts, it happened that the Portugueſe, in the Courſe of their Navigation along the Coaſt of *Afric*, doubled the *Cape of Good Hope* *, opened another *Rout* to the Indies, and brought the Treaſures of the *Eaſt* in an eaſier Method to the weſtern Parts of Europe †. This was no ſooner done than the *Venetians* felt a ſudden Change, like a River turned into another Channel: their Markets were deſerted; the Source of their Wealth was dried up, and a final Stop was put to the Increaſe of their Dominion. They had been always a *trading People* ‡, whoſe Strength conſiſted in their Command of *Money*, and Power *at Sea*; to both which this Diſcovery, ſo happy for the reſt of Europe, was a Blow not to be recovered.

ABOUT

* This Cape was firſt diſcovered (in modern times) by Bartholomew Diaz, a Portugueſe, ſent by John II. King of Portugal, in the Year 1487, who ſailed 140 Leagues beyond it. Afterwards paſſed in November 1497 by Vaſco de Gama, with a Fleet, ſent by Emanuel, John's Succeſſor.

‘ Parece que guardava o claro Céo
‘ A MANOEL e ſeus merecimentos
‘ Eſta empreſa tam ardua, que o movéo.
‘ A ſubidos e illuſtres movimentos:
‘ MANOEL que a JOANNE ſuccedéo
‘ N'o Reyno, e n'os altivos penſamentos
‘ Logo como tomou do Reyno cargo,
‘ Tomou mais a conquiſta do mar largo.

CAMOENS Luſiada, CANTO IV. Eſt. 66.

† *Tutti queſti Paeſi dell'*India Orientale *ſono ricchi ed importanti molto; e di là ſogliono venir ogni Anno a* Portogallo *le Navi cariche di* Zuccari, Spezie, Droghe e Gioie, *e molte altre coſe prezioſe, e di gran Valore.*

Coneſtaggio Hiſtor. di Portogallo.

‡ I VENEZIANI, *prima* Mercatanti, *poſſenti nel* Mare, *havendo col tempo occupato* Padona, Vicenza, Trevigi; *e di poi* Verona, Bergamo, e Breſcia; *e nel Reame* (di Napoli) *ed in* Romagna *molte città, cacciati dalla cupidità del* dominar, *vennero in tanta openione di potenza che non ſolamente a i Principi* Italiani, *mà a i* Ré oltramontani *erano in terrore.*

N. MACCHIAVEL. Hiſt. Fior. Lib. I.

ABOUT the ſame time, the *Spaniards*, having made the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of *America*, and brought their Commerce with it to a conſiderable Bearing, fetched from thence a good many of the Wares with which the Venetian Merchants uſed formerly to ſupply us, and compleated the Ruin of their foreign Trade *. Theſe concurring Accidents, which no domeſtic Liberty, or Form of Government could prevent, firſt brought down the Venetian Grandeur, by undermining the Foundations on which it was built. But what has chiefly contributed to damp the Spirits of the Citizens, and make them ſo daſtardly, is a *Canker* in the Boſom of the Conſtitution; I mean the almoſt abſolute Power of the DIECI, or Council of *Ten*, who have the Life and Death of every Venetian in their Diſpoſal. They are a Sort of *State-Inquiſitors*; and may ſend for any Senator or Subject of the Common-wealth, and commit him to a Dungeon †, out of which perhaps he never returns, without his Family or Friends once daring to find fault with, or even *enquire* into their Procedure ‡. They are looked upon by the governing Cabal of the Nobility, as the great Prop of their Power,

* VENECIA, *Ciudad que a nó aver nacido* Colon *en el mundo, no tuviera en el* ſemejante: *Merced al Cielo y al gran* Hernando Cortés, *que conquiſto la gran* Mexico, *para que la gran* Venecia *tuvieſſe en alguna manera quien ſe le opuſieſſe.*

Novelas Exemplar. de CERVANTES. Novel. V.

† *Soprogionto d'impriviſo fui imprigionato; ne in corto Viaggio di terra ſcorſe la opportunitá d'alcun Strapazzo, poiche in quello delle Acque dovevo con maggior Verità figurarmi il Traghetto di* Caronte, *ed il Paſſaggio all'onde* Stigie. *Non fui ſtraſcinato da un Tribunale all'altro, acciocche foſſi privo di goder anche quel poco di Felicitá ch'arrecarmi potevano alcuni* brevi momenti di Lucc: *o pure, à fine di tormi totalmente ogni* Speranza di Giuſtificazione.——And afterwards, *Queſté Prigioni poſſono chiamarſi* vivi Sepolcri, *e per l'anguſtia loro, e per la profonditá del Sito, e per le tenebre continuatamente durevoli.*

Lettera di F. Pallavicino.

‡ *Il* Conſiglio *de'* DIECI, *tremendo Braccio, deſtinato a ſevera ed indifferente criminal Giuſtizia, contra principalmente la Gravitá de'Caſi, e la Violenza de'Prepotenti.*

VERDIZZOTTI dè Fatti Veneti. Lib. XI.

and are the Terror of all the reſt of the Nation. But while they are poſſeſſed of this exorbitant Juriſdiction, the Venetian Government, call it *ariſtocratical*, or what you pleaſe, can never paſs for a *truely free* Conſtitution: *That*, by an infallible Rule, can never exiſt, where the *ſole Will* of the Magiſtrate who executes the Law is itſelf *a Law* to the Subject: Nor does it in that caſe import ſo much, whether that lawleſs Power be exerciſed by one or by many. The *thirty*; nay the *four thouſand* Tyrants at *Athens*, domineered as imperiouſly, and baniſhed and butchered as cruelly as thoſe ſingle Monſters *Dionyſius* or *Nero* did afterwards.

THE Power therefore of the DIECI, or Council of *Ten* at *Venice*, is a piece of as genuine Tyranny * prevailing in the State, as ever their Brethren of equal number, the *Decemvirs*, formerly exerciſed at *Rome*. It cannot fail of depreſſing that noble generous Spirit, which is inſeparable from legal *Right* and Independency. A Man who lives under the Awe of that tremendous Court, and falls into a trembling Fit at the Sight of one of their *Sbirri* or Tipſtafs, can have few public-ſpirited Views; and muſt look coldly upon the Concerns of a Community, whoſe chief Power is his chief Dread, and, of conſequence, his ſincere Abhorence.

FOR LIBERTY, the moſt manly and exalting of the Gifts of Heaven, conſiſts in a free and generous Exerciſe of all the human Faculties, as far as they are compatible with the Good of

* *Il tremendo Tribunale de' Capi de'* DIECI, *et il ſupremo Magiſtrato degli* Inquiſitori di Stato, *con tre ſole Palle di Tela, con facilitá incredibile, ſepellivano vivo qualſivoglia* Ceſare, *qual ſi ſia* Pompeio, *che vedevano ſcuoprirſi in quella ben ordinata Republica.*

BACCALINI. Ragguagl. V.

Φοβούμενος δὲ ἄρχων, ἀρχόμενον οὔτε καλὸν, οὔτε πλήσιον, οὔτε ἰσχυρὸν, οὔτε ἀνδρεῖον, οὔτε τὸ παράπαν πολεμικὸν ἐκὼν εἶναι γίγνεσθαί ποτε.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ Νόμων, Η.

of the Society to which we belong: And the moſt delicious Part of the Enjoyment of the ineſtimable Bleſſing lies in a *Conſciouſneſs that we are free.* This happy Perſuaſion, when it meets with a noble Nature, raiſes the Soul and rectifies the Heart: It gives Dignity to the Countenance, and animates every Word and Geſture: It elevates the Mind above the little Arts of Deceit; makes it benevolent, open, ingenuous and juſt, and adds a new Reliſh to every better Sentiment of *Humanity.*

THE *Man* therefore who is fully perſuaded, that while he lives uprightly and innocently, the Laws and Conſtitution of his Country will protect him, acquires a chearful Confidence both in ſpeaking and acting: He repays the Security not only of his Life and Property, but of the true *Taſte* and *Enjoyment* of Life, with ſincere Endeavours to promote its Proſperity: He improves the Strength of every natural Tye, ſuch as Birth, Eſtate, Family and Friends, and redoubles his Affection to their common Guardian the *Conſtitution.*

BUT if, by any fatal Reverſe, his *Truſt* in the Laws be deſtroyed; if, on the contrary, he be conſcious, "That he lies at "the Mercy of another Man, or of a Set of Men, who may "impriſon him, baniſh him, hang him, and do with him and "his Family what they pleaſe with Impunity," how diſmal is the Turn that comes upon the Temper of the Mind? If his Station give him Acceſs, and his Spirit be equal to the Attempt, no doubt he will do his utmoſt to pull down the enormous Power. But if that be out of his Reach, and he muſt bend his Neck to the Yoke, from that Hour he changes both in his Sentiments and Conduct; he turns cautious and fearful *, and, by degrees, ſelfiſh, diſingenuous and daſtardly: Every Word muſt now be weighed, leſt it offend his *Maſters*; every public Action ſet about with a thouſand *Egards*, (I muſt borrow

* Qui *metuens* vivet, liber mihi non erit unquam.
HORAT. Lib. I. Epiſt xvii. ad Quintium.

row a *ſlaviſh* Term, where our Language happily affords none) leſt it give Umbrage, and draw upon him Death or Shame. The noble independent Spirit which ſhone in every Sentence of his Diſcourſe is now evaniſhed: No more quick and honeſt Deciſions in favour of Right and Condemnation of Wrong, in what Perſon or Character ſoever they were found: No more of the former generous diſintereſted Procedure in his Friend's or Country's Cauſe; he loſes his manly Look; his Abjectneſs increaſes with every Year of Slavery, and in the end he receives that *ſervile Stamp* in his Mind and Manners, which made the great Maſter of Life pronounce the memorable Sentence; "*That one Day of Servitude deſtroyed the better Half of the hu-*"*man Soul.* *

BUT ſtill, notwithſtanding of all their Diſadvantages, I would aſk, Whether any abſolute Prince in Europe, with an equal Territory, has made ſuch a Figure for the laſt four hundred Years, as the narrow Venetian Common-wealth has done? Or, could any one of the petty Sovereigns of Italy have ſupported himſelf againſt ſo dreadful a Neighbour †, maintained ſuch an obſtinate Struggle, or retrieved ſo deſperate a Game as they have often been forced to play? It is the *Field*, and *inland Wars* that form Soldiers, and give a Reputation for Arms, which their Situation forbids; as the martial *Swiſs* are forbid by theirs to have Ships and Seamen. No wiſe Man imagines, that a *free Conſtitution* is either a ſufficient Remedy for *every* Misfortune that may befall a State, (elſe no free State had ever come to Ruin) or that Liberty gives thoſe Qualities to Men, which their Situation in the Nature of Things denies: It is ſufficient, if, in the ſame Circumſtances of Affairs, it give a *glorious Pre-eminence.*

WHAT

* ΤΟ ΗΜΙΣΥ ΤΗΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΑΦΑΙΡΕΤΑΙ ΔΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΗΜΑΡ.
ΟΜΗΡΟΣ.

† The Ottoman Empire.

WHAT greater Proof can we have of it than the preſent Condition of the *modern* Italians? They are at this Day a ſagacious People, and have a *Keenneſs* and *Conſtancy of Temper* peculiar to themſelves: They are ſtrong nervous Bodies of Men *, able to undergo great Fatigues, and to endure the fierceſt Changes of Heat and Cold, of any *European* Nation. The nice Judges of Climates think that *ITALY* has the proper Temperature of *Air* and *Soil*, for producing the ſtrongeſt Paſſions to be conſtant, and the robuſteſt Bodies, to be capable of bearing the Extremes of a ſultry or frozen Clime. †

IT is a vaſt *Peninſula*, which declines from the North to the Southeaſt, running between thirty eight and forty ſix degrees of Latitude, and is waſhed on the eaſt by the upper or *Adriatic*, and on the weſt by the *Tyrrhene* or *Tuſcan* Sea. Almoſt quite down the Middle of it runs the Ridge of the *Apennine* Mountains ‡, which produce Stone and Timber for every kind of uſe, plenty of Paſture for ſmall Cattle, and pour down on either hand many a delightful Stream into the lower Country: The *Arno*, the *Tiber*, the *Liris* and *Vulturnus* on one Side; and

* Διαφέρυσι μὲν ὖν ἡ φύσει πάντες ΙΤΑΛΙΩΤΑΙ Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων, τῇ τε σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ ἡ ταῖς ψυχικαῖς τόλμαις· μεγάλην δὲ ἡ διὰ τῶν ΕΘΙΣΜΩΝ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ποιοῦνται τῶν νέων παρόρμησιν.

ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ Ἱστορ. βιβ. ς.

† Omnes Nationes, quæ vicinæ ſunt Soli, nimio calore ſiccatas, amplius quidem *ſapere*, ſed minus habere ſanguinis dicunt, ac propterea Conſtantiam atque Fiduciam cominùs non habere pugnandi. Contrà ſeptentrionales Populi, remoti a ſolis ardoribus, inconſultiores quidem, ſed tamen largo ſanguine redundantes, ſunt ad bella promptiſſimi. Tyrones igitur de temperatioribus legendi ſunt plagis, quibus et copia ſanguinis ſuppetat ad vulnerum mortiſque contemtum, et non deſit prudentia, quæ et modeſtiam ſervat in caſtris, et non parum prodeſt in dimicatione conſiliis.

FL. VEGETII de re militari, Lib. XI.

‡ Apenninus Mons, Italiæ ampliſſimus, perpetuis jugis ab Alpibus tendens ad Siculum fretum.

PLINII Nat. Hiſt. Lib. III. § v.

and beſides, the impetuous Po *, which, taking its Riſe among the *Alps*, glides thro' the Vale of Piemont, and then wanders thro' the rich Plain of Lombardy; there is the *Metaurus*, the *Aternus*, and the rapid *Auſidus* upon the other, with many a River of inferior note, which water the Fields, moiſten the Meads, and gladden the Paſtures to the Brink of the Shore. Upon the Declivities, where the Skirts of the Mountains begin to break into little Hills and ſlopping Plains, lie the Olive and Vineyard Soils, famed for *Meſſapian* Oil, and the *Albanian*, *Falernian* and *Calenian* Wines. Below them *Pomona* reigns with a Profuſion of Fruits of every Species, which Art and Culture can ſcarce obtain in leſs happy Climes: As you ſtill deſcend into the level Country, the rich arable Lands lie in great Tracts; ſuch as the *Campania* of Rome, and the *Capuan* and *Laborian* Fields: And where the Ground is ſtill more depreſſed and marſhy, as about *Velia* and *Minturnæ*, the Meadows are ſtretched out, fit for Horſes, and Paſturage of *large Cattle*. So that *Italy*, however rich in Grain, is not a mere Corn-country, like the lower *Egypt*, the Plains of *Babylon*, or the *Barbary* Coaſt; nor, tho' abounding with Fruit and Foreſt-trees, is it covered with Woods like *Pontus*, and ancient *Gaul*; nor, tho' flowing with Wine and Oil, does it want Paſture and Forage, like the South of *France*, and greater Part of *Spain*, but joining all theſe Productions to every other of Fiſh and Fowl, Metals and Minerals, fit for the Neceſſity and Elegancy of Life; it is the moſt fertile *ſelf-ſupported* Country in Europe, in whoſe Heart it lies.

THIS *Variety* of its Soil and Climate produces all the Characters fitted to theſe Soils †, from the luxurious lazy Neapolitan to

* ——————Quo non per pinguia culta
In mare purpureum violentior defluit amnis. VIRGIL.

† Βουλομένης δὲ τὰς ΠΕΡΣΑΣ ἀντὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ὕσης ὀρεινῆς καὶ τραχείας, πεδιάδα καὶ μαλακὴν χώραν λαβεῖν, οὐκ ἔιασεν εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ βίοι ταῖς ΧΩΡΑΙΣ συνεξομοιοῦνται.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ. Αποθεγμ.

to the laborious Genoeſe, or hardy Inhabitant of the Apennine Hills. Two Evidences among many, *that the Nature of the Natives is not wholly changed*, are pretty remarkable.

ABOUT the Year 1324, under the Papacy of Clement VI. and the Reign of the Emperor Ludowick VI. of Germany, NICOLAS of LORENZO was Chancellor of the Capitol at *Rome*, and a very popular Man. Upon ſome Diſguſt taken againſt the Senators, who were generally the Pope's Creatures, he, with the Aſſiſtance of the People, baniſhed them from *Rome*, and took the Government into his own Hands, under the Title of TRIBUNE, and *Head of the Roman Republic*. He reduced it to the ancient Form, and governed with ſo great Reputation of Juſtice and Valour, that not only the neighbouring Towns, but all Italy ſent him Embaſſies: In ſo much that the Provinces of the old Commonwealth, beholding their *Metropolis*, once more reſume its priſtine Dignity, raiſed their Spirits; and partly thro' Dread of his Arms, partly thro' Hopes of a better Condition, all honoured the riſing *Tribune*. But his Courage was not equal to his Fortune; it failed at the Sight of the Height on which he ſtood: So that, turning daſtardly under the Weight of his own Power, he abandoned himſelf, when honoured and ſupported by his People; and without the leaſt Force or Danger, fled privately to *Charles* King of Bohemia, who ſent him back loaded with Chains to the Pope. *

THE other remarkable Proof of the Temper of the Natives, and what kind of Men they are ſtill capable of being made, is, that the Italian Regiments were among the beſt Troops in that noble Army which the great *Prince of Parma* commanded in the *Netherlands:* The Reputation of the *Spaniſh* Infantry was then at its Height †: Yet were the *Italian Troops* always em-

 ployed

* N. MACCHIAVELLI. Hiſt. Fiorent. Lib. I.

† Queſto Fatto eſpreſſe ſin dalla bocca del Ré medeſimo (HENRICO IV.) 'Che non crano altri ſoldati nel mondo che haveſſero ſaputo fur tanto; che s'*Egli haveſſe queſta Fanteria* SPAGNUOLA *congiunta con i ſuoi Cavalli, oſcrebbe intraprendere guerra con l'univerſo.* DAVILA, Guerre civili di Francia, Lib. XV.

ployed in the moſt dangerous Services, where a ſteady inflexible Courage was neceſſary: They were called upon in the Hour of Diſtreſs to *retrieve* a deſperate Buſineſs, or prevent a fatal Break. *

It is true, they were all Men long trained, and well paid, ſure of Careſſes and Preferment, when they did a ſignal Service; and full of a Soldier's Aſſurance of Conqueſt and Pleaſure under their loved *Leader* and Countryman: But let it be remembered, that they were *modern Italians*, levied in the States of *Urbino*, *Parma*, *Genoa*, and the *Church* †, who, to my Apprehenſion, gave Proof that the Natives of that unhappy Country, are of the ſame Caſt and Materials as near two thouſand Years ago, when they were conquering the World by their Bravery and Virtue, but are ſo disfigured and debaſed by their preſent *prieſtly* Diſcipline, and *eccleſiaſtical* Culture, that they make the beſt *Friers*, and the worſt *Soldiers* in Chriſtendom. ‡

Let us caſt an Eye backwards upon the State of the World, and take a View of the Hiſtory of the Nations that have made, or attempted to make a Figure upon the mighty Stage: Let us think *what* it was that raiſed them to Power and Splendor, and enabled them to give Laws to all the People around them? We ſhall find, that it was private Temperance, and a *hardy* Life, for the moſt part the Child of *Neceſſity*; and *public Order*, and a *ſevere Diſcipline*, occaſioned by the Diſſenſions at home,

* Vid. *Famian. Stradæ* de Bello Belgico, Decad II. Lib. IV. in fine, et Lib. VI. ibid. et Lib. VII. ibid. ſed præcipuè, Decad. I. Lib. ult.

† Has ſuppleturus legiones *Alexander*, ad legenda per *Italiam* minimum quatuor hominum millia, *Blaſium Capiſuccum* virum militiæ impigrum interritumque miſit cum literis ad Xyſtum Pontificem, ad Genuenſium Remp. atque ad Urbinatium ducem, ut ſuis in provinciis delectus haberi ne gravarentur.

F. Strada de Bello Belgico Decas II. Lib. IX.

‡ Le Genti della Chieſa, *Infamia della Milizia*, ſecondo il volgariſſimo proverbio.

F. Guicciardin. Hiſtor. d'Italia, Lib. VIII.

home, and Dangers from a foreign Enemy: In a word, it was MANNERS and a CONSTITUTION, mutually forming and ſupporting one another, that made every thing bow before them *. Thus the *Egyptians* of early Times, thus the *Medes* and *Perſians*, thus the *Greeks*, and particularly the *Lacedemonians*, conquered each the neighbouring Nations; and each maintained their Conqueſts, while they continued in the Practice of theſe *commanding Virtues*.

LET US conſider, on the other hand, *what* it was that made theſe ſame Nations loſe the ſuperior Spirit, become crazy and feeble, and bow to a Conqueror in their turn? We ſhall find it was *private Luxury*, and a lazy effeminate Life, (the Effect of Wealth) which never fails to entail *public Diſorder*, and Breach of CONSTITUTION: And in particular, to bring the matter cloſer home, *What* was it that made that mixed contemptible Colony ſettled by *Romulus*, become populous, warlike, juſt; conquer its Neighbours, and grow to a great Empire? Why did not *Alba*, the *Sabines*, the *Samnites*, the *Tuſcans* do the ſame before? Why have not the more mighty Cities and States, who have made the ſame Attempts ſince, met with the ſame Succeſs? It was the Roman MANNERS and CONSTITUTION: They were *Men* like others; inferior in Strength, in Numbers, in Science, in Wealth, to many Nations with whom they fought; but ſuperior to all by their *public Diſcipline* and *private Virtue*.

THE DESTINED Hour was now come, when *Rome* was to be made throughly *free*, and rendered capable of producing the Maſters of Mankind. For five and twenty Years the Citizens had bore with an illegal oppreſſive Government, and groaned under the Hardſhips put upon them by the haughty *Tarquin*; but none of them had formed any Deſign of reſcuing their

* "Ουτε γὰρ ταῖς ἐυπραγίαις τῶν ὀλίγων, ὔυτε ταῖς δυσυχίαις τῶν πολλῶν ἕτερόν τι ἢ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ΣΧΗΜΑ ὑπάρχειν ἄἰλιον.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣ. Ἁλικαρν. Ἀρχαιολ. Βιϐ. β.

Country, except one noble Youth, whoſe Father and Brother the Tyrant had killed, and who, for fear of the ſame Fate, was long obliged to diſſemble both his Reſentment and Capacity.

L. JUNIUS BRUTUS was one of thoſe manly Spirits who ripen ſlowly, and appear raw and lumpiſh in the firſt Stage of their Life: ſuch was *Cimon* the Athenian General, ſuch was *T. Manlius*, the Son of *L. Manlius Imperioſus*, ſuch was Bocaccio's *Cimone*, and ſuch our brave *Richard Cœur de Lion*. But when Men of that Temper come to Maturity, and their Faculties have attained their full Strength and *native Tone*, they act with incredible Conſtancy and Vigour. No Dangers deter them, no Difficulties outweary them, nor threatening Accidents in the Courſe of an Affair make them abandon a fixed Reſolution. Such was this great Patriot, who ſaw with Indignation the *Roman* Privileges trampled upon by that domineering Family; and, under a Maſque of *affected Stupidity*, waited with Impatience for an Opportunity to deliver his Country, and chaſtiſe the Oppreſſors.

It offered at laſt; and fairer than he could have expected. A Rape was committed by *Sextus Tarquinius*, the Tyrant's eldeſt Son, upon a noble Lady, the famed *Lucretia*; and the Indignity of the Crime was exceedingly heightened by the exaſperating Circumſtances of her Death. The Day after ſhe had ſuffered Shame, ſhe called a ſolemn Meeting of her Relations, related the cruel Injury ſhe had received, and having conjured them with her laſt Breath *to revenge her upon the Ruffian*, before any Hand could interpoſe to hinder the Blow, ſhe ſtabbed herſelf to the Heart in their Preſence.

Among the amazed and mournfull Company was *Junius Brutus*: But he, inſtead of ſtanding to bewail in fruitleſs Complaint's the fair one's unhappy Fate, ſnatched up the Dagger ſtreaming with her Blood, and holding it aloft, ſwore a ſacred Oath, *To avenge her injured Innocence, and purſue the Tyrant with Fire and Sword, untill he had utterly extirpated him and his lawleſs*

leſs Family. The great Men who were preſent (and the greateſt in the Senate were *Lucretia*'s or her Huſband's Relations) took each the fatal Dagger in his turn, and followed *Brutus*'s Example. After this they went in a Body to the *Forum*, and expoſed the Corpſe, bloody as it was, to public View. The People immediately flocked about it, and were filled with Rage and Indignation at the Sight of ſo piteous an *Object*, and much more by hearing, that ſhe had been driven to dy, *becauſe ſhe could not bear the Thought of living with Infamy*.

THEN *it was* that, to their no ſmall Surprize, the hitherto diſeſteemed *Brutus*, firſt diſcovered that high Capacity and ſuperior Courage, which fitted him for conducting ſo great an Undertaking. In a Strain of maſculine Eloquence, animated by his Reſentment, 'he firſt reminded the People of the unnatural 'Murder of the good *Servius* their great Benefactor; and the 'violent Uſurpation of the Throne by his ungracious Son-in-law, 'their preſent *King*; he ſet forth the open Violations of their 'moſt ſacred Privileges from the very Beginning of his Reign, 'and recounted the daily Indignities done both to the Senate 'and to *them*.' Then turning to the pale Corpſe of the abuſed *Lady*, he painted the Blackneſs of the Crime in ſuch odious Colours, that the People, long ago ripe for a Revolt, cried out with one Voice, *To arm, and lead them againſt the* Tarquins.

BUT *Brutus*, tho' extremely delighted with the Acclamation, thought fit to reſtrain their Impetuoſity: he told them how neceſſary it was to proceed regularly and legally in ſo important an Enterprize; and therefore having firſt divided them into their *Tribes*, as was uſual at the ſolemn Elections, he propoſed the famous Decree, which they as eagerly paſſed, TO DEPRIVE TARQUIN THE PROUD OF THE KINGDOM, AND BANISH HIM AND HIS POSTERITY FROM ROME FOR EVER*. The SENATE was next

* Exacti Reges *Lege Tribuniciâ*.——Iiſdem temporibus et *Tribunum Celerum* fuiſſe conſtat: Is autem erat qui *Equitibus* præerat, et veluti ſecundum locum a Regibus obtinebat; quo in numero fuit JUNIUS BRUTUS, qui Auctor fuit Regis ejiciendi. POMPON. Tit. De Origine Juris..

thoughtfull and learned, as thoſe Times went *, and might very probably hear of the Spartan Conſtitution, where *two Kings* exerciſed conjunctly the ſupreme Authority, and leave behind him a written Account of it among the other Regulations, which he introduced, or deſigned to introduce, into the *Roman* State. †

BUT I AM apt to believe the Hurry of Affairs, and Agitation of Mens Minds in ſuch a Revolution, left *Brutus* and the other Leaders, little leiſure to alter the eſtabliſhed Model, but juſt in ſuch Points as were neceſſary to ſecure them from Apprehenſions of another *Tyrant* in a *King*. For this reaſon they aboliſhed the *Regal Name*, declared it an illegal and impious Appellation, and appointed *two ſupreme Magiſtrates*, as mutual Checks, who were to lay down their Authority, and become private Men, accountable for their Conduct at the end of the Year. This then was the *great Change* made in the Government; the Subſtitution of *two annual elective Magiſtrates*, who were to have the *Faſces*, and exerciſe the ſupreme Power alternatively by Months, inſtead of *one Sovereign* who reigned for Life; in other reſpects the Conſtitution remained almoſt the ſame it was before. It is true, this was a moſt material Branch of it; and the Alterations made in it prevented the Abuſe of Power, ſecured the public Liberty, and tended mightily to the aggrandizing

* Magis eſt in *Romulo* admirandum, quod cæteri, qui *Dii* ex *Hominibus* facti eſſe dicuntur, minùs eruditis hominum ſæculis fuerunt; ut fingendi proclivior eſſet ratio cum imperiti facile ad credendum impellerentur: *Romuli* autem ætatem, minùs his ſexcentis annis, jam inveteratis literis atque doctrinis, omnique illo antiquo ex incultâ hominum vitâ errore ſublato fuiſſe cernimus.

CICERO apud Auguſtin de civit. Lib. XXII. § 6.

† Nobis *Romulus* ad libitum imperitaverat: dein *Numa* religionibus et divino jure populum devinxit; repertaque quædam a *Tullo* et *Anco:* ſed præcipuus SERVIUS TULLIUS ſanctor legum fuit quêis etiam REGES obtemperarent.

P. C. TACIT. Hiſtor. Lib. III.

THUS *began* the celebrated CONSULAR PERIOD, two hundred and forty four Years from the founding of the State; the *Period* from which the wiſeſt of the *Romans* date the full Exerciſe of their Liberty, the raiſing of their Spirits, the rouſing of their Virtues, and a *Pre-ſenſation* of all their future Greatneſs. Such an Encomium beſtowed upon any Inſtitution of Government by thoſe who proſpered under its Influence, and made a glorious Improvement of its Advantages, muſt naturally awake a Deſire to know the *Origin* of the Inſtitution, and by what Accidents, or by what Foreſight the firſt Patriots of *Rome* were directed to the *Conſular-ſcheme*.

LIVY the Hiſtorian ſays expreſsly, that they took it from the *Memoirs* left by *SERVIUS TULLIUS* their ſixth King *; which may be partly true: That wiſe and popular Prince, who firſt introduced the great Source of Order, the *Cenſus*, had Thoughts, as we have ſaid, of ſecuring his Throne againſt the Attacks of the *Tarquins*, by aſſociating another with himſelf in the Royalty. It is very certain, there were great Reſemblances between many of the *Peloponneſian* Cuſtoms, and thoſe of the *Italic* Nations: The old wandering *Pelaſgi* †, the *Arcadians*, *Argives* and *Spartans*, had all ſent Colonies to *Magna Græcia*, or *Italy*, and no doubt, diffuſed their Manners and Methods of Government along with their People. SERVIUS was immediately deſcended from one of the *Latin Tribes*: was thought-

* *DUO CONSULES* inde, comitiis centuriatis, a Præfecto Urbis, *ex commentariis* SERVII TULLII creati ſunt, *L. Junius Brutus*, et *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*.
T. LIVII Hiſtor. Lib. I.

† Ἔπειτα ΠΕΛΑΣΓΩΝ τινες τὴν ἑαυτων ἀναστασιν ἐκλιπεῖν, σύνοικοι γίγνονται τοῖς ΑΒΟΡΙΓΙΣΙ —— ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΥ τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ἐχρήσατο δὲ τύχαις δυσπότμοις, εἰς πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δ' εἰς τὴν πολύπλανον τε καὶ ἀνδένος τόπου βέβαιον οἴκησιν.
ΔΙΟΝΥΣ. Ἁλικαρν. Ἀρχαιολ. βιβ. α.

thoughtfull and learned, as thoſe Times went *, and might very probably hear of the Spartan Conſtitution, where *two Kings* exerciſed conjunctly the ſupreme Authority, and leave behind him a written Account of it among the other Regulations, which he introduced, or deſigned to introduce, into the *Roman* State. †

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† Nobis *Romulus* ad libitum imperitaverat: dein *Numa* religionibus et divino jure populum devinxit; repertaque quædam a *Tullo* et *Anco*: ſed præcipuus SERVIUS TULLIUS ſanctor legum fuit quêis etiam REGES obtemperarent.

P. C. TACIT. Hiſtor. Lib. III.

aggrandizing the Nation: But what I would inſinuate is, that the general Plan of the Government by a KING, NOBLES and COMMONS was not diſſolved *; only the *Execution* of the Regal Part put into other Hands, with the Reſtrictions mentioned above: But as for the *Authority* and *Juriſdiction* of the Senate, and the *Power* and *Privileges* of the People, which their early free Spirit had happily procured to them from their firſt Kings, they found no preſent neceſſity, and had little time either to increaſe or alter them. The Security and Enjoyment of them was what they aimed at, and fully obtained.

AFTERWARDS indeed, when their Affairs took another Face; when, inſtead of being confined in a Corner of *Italy* with a ſmall Territory, they ſpread themſelves over all that rich beautiful Country, made themſelves Maſters of *Sicily*, and in the Courſe of two or three Ages, extended their Dominion from Sea to Sea; then, I ſay, they made ſeveral important Changes in their Government, added many new Magiſtracies, and enlarged the Powers of thoſe already in Being, according to the Conveniencies or Inconveniencies ariſing from their former Eſtabliſhment and preſent Situation.

IN order to underſtand this *Progreſs* of their Conſtitution, we muſt remember, that under *Romulus* and the Kings, the *Senate* was principally a *Council of State*, and in many caſes a *Court of Juſtice*: And tho', as a diſtinguiſhed Body, whoſe Members bore the prime Honours of their Country, it made a noble Figure, yet at bottom its legal Powers were far inferior to thoſe of the *Roman People*. But ſoon after the Baniſhment of the *Tarquins*, and the Settlement of their Liberties, Things were brought to a better Temper. The high Character and ſuperior Capacity of the *Patricians* made the Streſs of all Affairs fall

* A primo Urbis ortu, *Regiis Inſtitutis*, partim etiam *Legibus*, *Auſpicia*, *Ceremoniæ*, *Provocationes*, *Patrum Conſilium*, *Equitum Peditumque Deſcriptio*, *tota res militaris* divinitus conſtituta eſt.

M. T. CICERON. Tusc. Lib. III.

upon them at that dangerous Juncture: a few of their Chiefs had at firſt contrived, and were the ſole Directors of the *great Revolution*; and the Public afterwards willingly allowed them to retain theſe Parts of Power which require the greateſt Abilities and Diſintereſtedneſs to diſcharge them. Then, as the City proſpered and grew more populous, the *Comitia*, or general Aſſemblies of the People, grew more troubleſome and inconvenient: their Numbers became unwieldy, and their Meetings tumultuous, ſo that it required much time and patience to gather the Votes *. This made it improper to call the *Commons* together upon every ordinary Occurrence, and of conſequence brought the common Courſe of public Buſineſs, by little and little, into the Channel of the *Senate*, who were eaſily aſſembled, and could better afford to occupy their Heads and Hands in Affairs of State, than the poor Labourers or Artiſans, who had need *to employ both all day long* in earning their Bread. By this means the original Plan of their Government came to be ſo much improved, that it will be proper to review it, and conſider both how it ſtood in its greateſt Perfection, and what Reſemblance it then bore to the preſent Government of GREAT BRITAIN.

IT conſiſted of THREE PARTS, as before:

I. Two *CONSULS*, Chiefs and Heads of the Common-wealth. They were veſted with the Regal Power †, and accordingly, the

* Deinde, quia difficile *Plebs* convenire cœpit, *Populus* certe multo difficilius in tantâ turbâ hominum, neceſſitas ipſa curam *Reip.* ad SENATUM deduxit. Ita cœpit *Senatus* ſe interponere, et quicquid conſtituiſſet obſervabatur.

POMPON. Tit. de Orig. Juris.

Nam cùm auctus eſſet *Pop. Rom.* in eum modum, ut difficile eſſet in unum eum convocare Legis ſanciendæ causâ, æquum viſum eſt SENATUM vice POP. conſuli.

INSTIT. Imper. Lib. I. Tit. II.

† *Regio Imperio* duo ſunto: iique præeundo, judicando, conſulendo *Prætores, Judices, CONSULES* appellantor: militiæ ſupremum jus habento: nemini parento: ollis *ſalus Populi ſuprema Lex eſto.*

CICERO de Legibus, Lib. III.

the old Enſigns of Royalty and Terrors of Criminals, the twelve Bundles of Rods and Axes, were carried before them by twelve *Lictors*, whenever they appeared in public *. The *Conſuls*, while in the City, ſeemed at firſt view, *like the* KINGS, to direct and diſpoſe of every thing: Like *them*, THEY repreſented the Dignity of the Government, and did the Honours of the State upon all Occaſions: All the Magiſtrates, that is, the whole Body of the Republic, except the Tribunes, obeyed *them*; and the Execution of the Law, with Power of Impriſonment, the good Order of the City, and Quiet of *Italy*, were in the firſt inſtance, committed to *them*. All Foreigners coming to *Rome* about public Buſineſs, were to addreſs themſelves firſt to the *Conſuls*; to whoſe Diſcretion it was left to introduce them ſpeedily to the Fathers, or delay calling the Senate, as *they* thought convenient. *Like the* KINGS, they preſided in that auguſt Aſſembly, governed the Debates, aſked the Opinions, and had Power to *oblige*, and even *compel* any Senator to attend the Meeting. They had likewiſe the Privilege to propoſe, and bring in Bills for what they thought wanted the Sanction of the *Senate*; and when the Decree was paſſed, they made out the ACT, and publiſhed it in the *Capitol*. What was done by the *Commons* muſt in the ſame manner paſs thro' the Hands of the *Conſuls*; they called and held the *Comitia*, or great Aſſembly of the *People*, propoſed Laws likewiſe to them, and ratified the Vote of the Majority: Nor was the Election valid of the higheſt Magiſtrate in *Rome* untill *they* made the Return. In a word, there was hardly any State Affair tranſacted without Doors, where the *Conſuls* did not preſide as Chiefs of the Common-wealth.

* The Axes were put into the Faſces only when the Conſul made a Progreſs *without* the City, and were taken out at his Return, and nothing but the Bundle of Rods left in the Hands of the *Lictor*. This Cuſtom was firſt introduced to put reſpect upon the *Roman* Citizens by *Valerius Publicola*. ὅταν ἔξω ϑεῖν τῆς πόλεως γένηται, χρῆϑαι τοῖς πελέκεσιν ἔνδον δὲ, ταῖς ῥάβδοις κοσμεῖϑαι μόναις.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣ. Αρχαιολ. βιβ. ς. ζ.

BUT, *like the* KINGS too, their chief Province, and what gave the greateſt Luſtre to their Dignity was the *ſupreme Command in time of War*. This was the admired Part of their Office; the Part for which it was ſo much courted, and which was hardly ever ſeparated from it, the *Temple of Janus* having been but once ſhut, and that for a very litte Space, while *Rome* was governed by *Conſuls*. Here then they were almoſt *abſolute*: They gave Commiſſions, ordered the Levies, provided Arms, and proceeded to the War with their *Queſtor*, or *Lord Treaſurer*, always attending them, to iſſue out what Sums they ſhould be pleaſed to order for the public Service. They had of courſe the Diſtribution of *military Rewards* and *Puniſhments*, and were ſole Judges even to Life and Death of every thing done in *the Field*. Yet with all this Power, and the high Luſtre of their Office, the *Conſuls* were under the Direction of the *Fathers* in the Exerciſe of it, and accountable to the *People* at its Expiration.

II. For the *SENATE*, the ſecond Branch of the *Legiſlature*, had now the ſupreme Management of the *Treaſury*, and ſo could diſappoint or promote any Enterprize as *they* pleaſed. They had the Power of impoſing Taxes according to every Man's *Cenſus* or Eſtate; they directed the *Cenſors* in farming out the Revenue, and the *Ediles* agreed with the Undertakers for Public-works under *their* Inſpection: No Moneys could be iſſued, but by *their* and the Conſul's Order; nor could the greateſt General obtain the nobleſt Reward of his Victories, the *Triumph*, without *their* Conſent and Approbation. They had their Part in paſſing Laws, which were commonly firſt moved in *their* Houſe, except ſuch as regarded the Power and Privileges of the *Commons*. The great Officers of State were, for many Years, elected out of *their* Body; and from among *them* the Judges, both of civil and criminal Cauſes, were to be choſen by Lot, or had the judicative Power annexed to their Office. This Power, together with the Diſpoſal of the Revenue, and letting the Public-works, were the great Checks which the Senate had upon the

the Commonalty. A Commoner did not know how ſoon a *Patrician* might be his Judge, and have both his Life and Eſtate in his Hands; or how ſoon as *Edile*, *Pretor*, or *Conſul*, he might have it in his Power to turn him out of Buſineſs, or continue him in a lucrative Employment, and therefore proceeded cautiouſly in oppoſing him.

NOR muſt it be forgot, that the SENATE aſſumed to themſelves the ſupreme Power of judging in Matters of *Religion*: They admitted or excluded new *Deities*, ratified or baniſhed new *Rites*, as they deemed it for the *Service of the Public*. They judged of Viſions and Revelations, and ordered the Expiation of Portents thro' *Italy*; or if there occurred any Difficulty above the Reach of human Reaſon, then the *Sibylline Writings*, the *Roman* SCRIPTURES, were inſpected only by *their* Order. It is true, they proceeded with great Caution and Tenderneſs in theſe ſacred Matters, and ſeldom came to a Determination without making firſt a Reference to the *High-Prieſt*, or conſulting the College of the *Augurs*.

BUT what gave that auguſt Body the greateſt Splendor, both at home and abroad, was that now they were not only a *Council* of *State*, deliberating and giving their Opinion upon every public Concern, but for the moſt part by their own proper Authority *put their Decrees in Execution* *. This Authority was bounded in *domeſtic* Affairs by the Powers of the *People*; but was next to unlimited *abroad*. They determined what number of

* Magiſtratus, quodcunque SENATUS creverit, agunto. Imperia, Poteſtates, Legationes, cum *Senatus* creverit, *Populuſve* juſſerit, ex urbe exeunto: Duella juſta, juſtè gerunto: ſociis parcunto: ſe et ſervos continento: Populi ſui gloriam augento: Domum cum laude redeunto.

CICERO de Legibus, Lib. III.

SENATUS——Nuncios pacis ac belli, curatores, interpretes, bellici conſilii auctores, muneris provincialis miniſtros, *more majorum* deligere poteſt. —— SENATUI provinciæ decernendæ poteſtas, imperatoris deligendi judicium, Ærarii diſpenſatio——quæ nunquam ſibi Pop. Rom. appetivit.——Quis *Legatos* unquam audivit ſine *Senatuſconſulto?*

CICERO Oratio in Vatinium.

of Men and Arms, what Sum of Money and Quantity of Proviſions ſhould go to the Service of the current Year: They determined the *Quota* of each of theſe to be furniſhed by their *Allies* in caſe of a War, and preſcribed to them how to live with the neighbouring States in time of Peace. They gave the final Orders to the Governors of Provinces before their Departure; and frequently directed a new-elected Conſul going to the Campaign, in the ſame manner as a modern Sovereign inſtructs the General whom he entruſts with the Conduct of his Armies. By the ſame Authority they gave Audience to all Embaſſies from *Kings* and *States*, and after Conſultation returned the Anſwer *they* thought proper: They inſtructed the *Roman Ambaſſadors* going in the Name of the Republic to foreign Courts, and enlarged or reſtrained their Powers as *they* ſaw convenient. Sometimes they ſent them merely for Information, to ſee and make Report of the State of a Country; and, at others, impowered them to ſequeſtrate Provinces, and give or take away Kingdoms *by a ſimple Meſſage:* So that the Princes who were not throughly acquainted with *Roman* Affairs, receiving their Anſwers about *Peace* or *War* always from *them*, ſuppoſed the Government of *Rome* to be wholly in the Hands of the SENATE.

III. BUT ſuch were not well informed of what paſſed within the Walls of the *City:* There they would have ſeen that the *PEOPLE*, the third Branch of the Common-wealth, when aſſembled in the grand *Comitia*, *finally* determined the important Points of making *Peace* or declaring *War* againſt any Nation; and reſerved to themſelves the Power of recognizing the Terms of every Treaty and Alliance made by their Generals abroad, and diſſolving or ratifying it as *they* ſaw Cauſe *. They did indeed pay great Regard to the *Authority of the Senate*, and ſeldom or never differed from them about *foreign* Affairs, which they

* Injuſſu Populi nego quicquam ſanciri poſſe quod Populum teneat.
T. LIVII Hiſt. Lib. IX.

they could not well underſtand, and when left to themſelves, but rarely meddled with. But at *home* they retained their ancient great Privilege, which was to chuſe *by whom* they would be governed, and to judge of the Fidelity and Capacity of their Governors at the Expiration of their Office. All Places therefore of Honour and Truſt depended upon *their* Votes; nor was there acceſs to any civil Magiſtracy, or military Dignity, but by *their* Favour. No general Law could paſs without *their* Conſent; the higheſt Magiſtrate could put no *Roman* to Death without *their* Command *; neither were the *Decrees* of the Senate valid, untill their *Tribunes* who ſat without, had examined whether they interfered with the Privileges of the Commons, and marked them with the firſt Letter of their Name (T), in ſign of Approbation. In a word, the *Roman People* had in their Hands the two chief Springs of Government, *Rewards* and *Puniſhments*: To *them* Application was to be made for Conſulſhips, Pretorſhips, Prieſthoods, and Provinces, and for all the higheſt Honours of the State: to *them* the grand and ultimate Appeal lay from every other Tribunal: Before *them* the higheſt Magiſtrate in *Rome* was to be arraigned, if guilty of neglect of Duty, or Breach of Truſt; and the greateſt Conqueror, if called upon by *them*, was obliged to appear, and give an Account of the Expedition.

FROM this *Plan* of Government it appears, that the CONSULS had what a Civilian would call the *executive* Power, being the higheſt Officers of State: that the SENATE had both the *deliberative* and *juſſive* Part, being properly the *governing Body*, which gave Life and Motion to the whole: and that the PEOPLE, to balance them, had the *elective*, and finally *deciſive* Parts of the Conſtitution.

IT

* Ne tamen CONSULES per omnia regiam poteſtatem ſibi vindicarent, lege lata factum eſt, ut ab eis provocatio eſſet, neve poſſent in caput Civis Romani animadvertere *injuſſu* POPULI.

POMPON. Tit. II. de Origine Juris.

IT were eaſy now to ſhew how theſe different Parts depend upon one another; how they all contribute to their mutual Support in time of War, and ſerve as Reſtraints when Men wax wanton with Peace. But with what Pleaſure do I reflect, that the Labour would be loſt upon a *Briton*, who underſtands his *native Laws*, and the juſtly envied Privileges to which he is born? If acquainted with *theſe*, he will eaſily perceive the Reſemblance which the BRITISH CONSTITUTION bears to the *Roman* in all its Branches *: and if he ſtop a little to compare them more narrowly, he will ſee the Advantage, in point of *domeſtic Quiet*, lying on the ſide of his Country. Without the Tumult and recurring Diſorders that embroiled the Elections of their *annual Sovereigns*, we enjoy a more *ſedate Liberty*; and have a ſteadier, becauſe a leſs interrupted Adminiſtration. Our beſt and greateſt Men, tho' accountable for their Conduct, and ſubject to a ſevere Enquiry, are not expoſed, like *theirs*, to the Inſults and Prejudices of a miſguided inſolent Mob †: And if, in other reſpects, our Tide of Liberty runs not ſo full, and conſequently our Spirits riſe not ſo high as theirs, WE are likely in return (and *may* HEAVEN *fulfill* the Prophecy!) *to be more than compenſated by its Stability and Duration.* The *ROMANS*, who in their Beginnings had experience of all the Varieties of good and

* Statuo eſſe optimé conſtitutam Remp. quæ ex tribus generibus illis, *Regali*, *Optimati* et *Populari* confuſa modicé, nec puniendo irritet Animum immanem ac ferum, nec omnia prætermittendo licentiâ civeis deteriores reddat.

CICERO apud Non. in Modicum.

† Quod enim Fretum, quem Euripum, tot motus, tantas tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum, quantas perturbationes et quantos æſtus habet Ratio Comitiorum: dies intermiſſus unus aut nox interpoſita ſæpe perturbat omnia; et totam opinionem parva nonnunquam commutat Aura Rumoris. Nihil eſt incertius vulgo; nihil obſcurius voluntate hominum; nihil fallacius Ratione totâ Comitiorum.

CICERO. Orat. pro L. Murena.

and bad Fortune, ſeem to have been ſenſible of their Diſadvantages, and had recourſe to two or three remarkable Expedients to ſupply them.

THEY put the firſt in practice ſoon after they had expelled their Kings, and aboliſhed the *Royalty:* when any ſudden Danger threatened them, as was frequently their Caſe, or when hard preſſed by a powerfull Enemy, they quickly perceived the Inconveniency of waiting the Orders of a large Aſſembly *. On ſuch occaſions they elected a temporary abſolute *Sovereign*, who had all Power, civil and military, and was to be obeyed without *delay* or *controul*. They called him at firſt *Maſter of the People* †, and afterwards DICTATOR, as a leſs invidious Name. He had the nomination of his own Lieutenant-General, or *Maſter of the Horſe*, and abdicated his high Authority at the end of ſix months, or for the moſt part ſooner, when he had warded off the Danger for which he was elected, and ſecured the public Tranquillity.

AFTERWARDS, when their Dominion was mightily increaſed, and they had got the better of all their Neighbours, as there were fewer occaſions for this Expedient, ſo they grew more ſhy of creating a *Dictator*; juſtly dreading the uſe he might make of his high Title, and unlimited Commiſſion: For their primitive Innocence ceaſed with their Poverty, and as their Wealth and Power increaſed, ſo did their Ambition and Avarice. For this

* Ηγήσαντο ὧν εἰ ἕνα ἕλοιντο ἄρχοντα, μᾶλλον ἂν ἡ πολυαρχίας οὔσης δύναιντο τὸν ἕνα χρῆσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ ἡμέρας· ἢ εἰ τὶ δέοι λανθάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ κρύπτεσθαι· ἢ εἰ τὶ ἂν δέοι φθάνειν, ἧττον ἂν ὑστερίζειν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ ENI πράττεσθαι ἄν.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ. Αναβασ. βιβ. ς.

This was the Opinion OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS, who could judge from *Experience*.

† *Magiſter Equitum*; quod ſumma poteſtas hujus in Equites et Adcenſos, ut eſt ſumma in Populum Romanum *Dictatoris*, a quo is quoque MAGISTER POPULI appellatus.

M. T. VARONIS de Ling. Lat. Lib. IV.

reaſon, in caſes of extreme Neceſſity, (which after the Conqueſt of *Carthage* and *Macedon*, were rather *Conſpiracies* at home than Dangers from abroad) if the *Conſuls* were Men the Senate could confide in, they beſtowed that grand Truſt upon *them*. The Form of the ACT is admirable for its Simplicity: It bore nothing more than "*Let the* CONSULS *take care that no Harm be-*"*fall the Roman State:*" But the Import of it was, 'That they 'might raiſe what Army *they* thought fit, ſeize and impriſon 'whom *they* pleaſed, and exerciſe all manner of Juriſdiction over 'the Perſons and Eſtates of the Citizens and their Allies *.' In effect, the two laſt *Dictators* were of their *own* creating, and not of the *Common-wealth*'s.

THE other Expedient was partly of the ſame nature; not indeed an unlimited Dominion granted to any one Officer of State, but an *Addition* made both to the Power and Number of their Magiſtrates, when the Empire increaſed in Bulk, and the Provinces required particular Governors for their better Adminiſtration. While *Rome* was a ſmall Town, its Inhabitants few, and Territory circumſcribed, it was eaſy for *two* ſupreme Magiſtrates to execute the Laws, and inſpect every Part of the infant Common-wealth. The firſt *Conſuls* were Judges of civil Right as well as Officers of State; and decided the *private* Cauſes of the Citizens at home, as they did thoſe of the *Public* in the field. But when all the neighbouring States and petty Princes, were become either the Subjects or Allies of *Rome*; when they had repulſed the *Gauls*, conquered the *Samnites*, and humbled the *Capuans*; but particularly when they came to get footing beyond ſea; *then* it was that they found it neceſſary to admit more

* SENATUS decrevit, *'darent operam* Coss. *ne quid detrimenti Reſp. caperet.* Ea poteſtas per Senatum, *more romano*, Magiſtratui maxima permittitur; exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis Socios atque Civeis; domi militiaeque Imperium, atque Judicium ſummum habere: aliter ſine *Populi juſſu* nulli earum rerum CONSULI jus eſt.

C. Salluſt. BELL. CATILIN.

more of their Officers to the Exerciſe of the ſupreme Authority: Theſe were their *Proconſuls* and *Pretors*, (of whoſe Creation immediately) who were ſoon impowered to call the Senate, hold Aſſemblies of the People, and were made capable of the Command of Armies, and Government of Provinces, as well as the Conſuls themſelves.

THE ſame Increaſe of Buſineſs with the Increaſe of the Empire, produced another Magiſtracy, of ſmall conſideration at firſt, as being only intended to eaſe the Conſuls of the trouble of taking and keeping an account of the *Number* of the Citizens, and *Value* of their Eſtates.—But by degrees they aſſumed the power of not only calling over the Roll of the ſeveral ORDERS, *Senators*, *Knights*, (or Gentlemen) and *Plebeians*, but of judging which of the Citizens were worthy or unworthy to remain in theſe Orders, and of *expelling* the Senator, or *degrading* the Knight they deemed a Diſhonour to his Station; they were called CENSORS, from the Original * of their Office, which became a Supplement to the Laws, and a ſupreme Tribunal over the *Manners* of Individuals, and of the whole People; for being connected with *Property* on one hand, and with *Honour* or *Ignominy* on the other, the *Cenſors* had the management of the two Springs that give the greateſt Aſcendant over Men.

WHILE the *Roman* Manners continued ſound, and their Spirit undaunted, while they did nothing deſerving Shame, and therefore dreaded it worſe than Death, the CENSORSHIP was the moſt awful Dignity in the Common-wealth: Men of the higheſt Rank, who had diſcharged the other Offices of State with honour, who had been *Conſuls*, *Proconſuls* and *Dictators*, were uſually choſen into it; and they exerciſed it with a Severity that, like a Touch-ſtone, atteſts the high Purity of *roman* Virtue, while it aſtoniſhes Poſterity. For not only groſs Immoralities, or high Crimes and Miſdemeanours, but *Petulance*, *Indecency*, *Inconſiſtency* in Conduct, or the leaſt Tendency to Diſ-

* See page 36.

ſolution of Manners, infallibly felt the cenſorial Diſpleaſure. Upwards of *ſixty* Senators have been expelled the Senate at one Review, for reaſons that our Luxury would prompt us to laugh at. *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, a Man twice Conſul and once Dictator, was ejected by the Cenſor *Fabricius*, for having *ten Pound Weight of Silver-plate in his poſſeſſion*. *Emilius Lepidus*, tho' chief of the *Augurs*, had the ſame fate, becauſe he was ſo prodigal as *to dwell in a Houſe rented at forty eight Pounds, eight Shillings and nine Pence* *. *L. Flaminius*, of Conſular Dignity, and Brother of the famous *Titus Flaminius* the Conqueror of *Philip* and Deliverer of oppreſſed *Greece*, was ejected by the inflexible *Cato* for ordering the Execution of a Criminal, in time of Dinner, in his own Preſence, *to ſatisfy the Curioſity of his Strumpet*. Nor did theſe rigid Inſpectors ſpare one another.

M. LIVIUS, called from a Tax on Salt, SALINATOR, a grave, ſevere, vindictive Man, having done ſome unpopular thing in his Conſulſhip, was accuſed by a Tribune, and condemned by the Votes of all the Tribes, ſave one; after which he retired to the Country, and for eight years lived like one in exile, neglected in his Dreſs, with a ſettled Sullenneſs in his Look. He was then forced to Town, and to Attendance in the Senate by the *Conſuls*, who knew his Worth and Capacity; and not long after, both the ſupreme Magiſtrates, *M. Marcellus* and *T. Quintius Criſpinus*, having been ſurrounded and killed by HANNIBAL, while his Brother HASDRUBAL was paſſing the *Alps* with a great Army and vaſt Treaſure to join him, the Senate prevailed with the Commons to elect *M. Livius Salinator*, ſteady and ſedate, along with *C. Claudius Nero*, full of ardour and activity, into that high Office, as the moſt proper pair of Conſuls to oppoſe to the impending Storm. They had formerly been at variance, *Claudius* having been one of the Witneſſes againſt *Livius* at his Trial;

* *Quod* ſex millibus *habitaret*. C. Vellei. Paterc. Lib. I.

Trial; but now, by the authority of the Fathers, they were publickly reconciled, embraced in the Senate-houſe, marched againſt *Haſdrubal*, and by a glorious Victory, which we will have occaſion to mention hereafter, retrieved their Country from imminent Perdition.

FOR this noble Service they triumphed together in great Splendour, and conducted the reſt of their Conſulſhip with perfect harmony: But being ſoon after choſen conjunct CENSORS, they gave Specimens of a different Spirit. The greater part of the *cenſorial* Work — 'canvaſſing the Senate, inſpecting the pu-'blic Buildings, and farming out the Revenue,' they performed unanimouſly enough; but in reviewing the Centuries of the *Roman Knights*, among whom they both ſtill were, when it was the turn of the *Pollian* Tribe, to which *M. Livius* belonged, and the public Cryer heſitated to call the *Cenſor* himſelf, '*Cite*, 'ſaid *Nero*, MARCUS LIVIUS SALINATOR: which when done, he commanded him to ſell the Horſe he had from the Republic, (the Form of *degrading* a Knight) *as a Man who had been once condemned by the* Roman *People*. On the other hand, when the *Arnian* Tribe was in review, *M. Livius* ordered C. CLAUDIUS NERO to be cited, and commanded him to ſell his Horſe for two Reaſons; firſt becauſe he *had not given ſound Evidence at his Trial*; and next becauſe it appeared that *he had been inſincere in his public Reconciliation:* Then with great Gravity, turning to the whole People, he told them, "They could not avoid the "Imputation of either *Levity* or *Injuſtice*, as they firſt condemn-"ed him, however innocent, and then choſe him into the "higheſt Magiſtracies *Conſul* and *Cenſor:* that therefore, of the "five and thirty Tribes he amerciated thirty four in a Fine to "the Treaſury, and only exempted the *Mecian* Tribe, which "had neither condemned him at the Expiration of his firſt Con-"ſulſhip, nor voted him after that into a ſecond: that as for his "Collegue *Nero*, having already laid him under a Fine with

"the

" the *Pollian* Tribe, he could not by law make him *twice* ob-
" noxious; elſe he would have inflicted a particular Cenſure up-
" on him for his double Prevarication."

BUT as this Magiſtracy was the Guardian of the *Roman* Manners, another Cauſe contributed to the Improvement of their Conſtitution, particularly in the Adminiſtration of *Juſtice at Home*. The Conteſts between the Nobles and Commons had begun very early in *Rome*, and roſe ſtill higher in proportion to the public Proſperity. The *Commons* pretended that as they bore the greateſt Burden of the State, as they filled the Legions and paid the Taxes, it was but reaſonable they ſhould have ſome Share of the Honours of their Country, and that *one* of the Conſuls at leaſt ſhould be elected out of *their* Body. The *Patricians* oppoſed the Propoſal with great violence; but, after long Struggling, they were forced to yield to the greater number, and admit *one* Conſul to be annually a PLEBEIAN: In return for which Conceſſion, and to keep the Balance of Power ſtill on the ſide of the Nobility, they demanded and obtained the Creation of two new Magiſtracies, to be elected by the *Centuries*, that is the *better Sort* of the Commons, and to be held and exerciſed only by *Patricians*, the *Pretorſhip* *, and the *Edility*.

THE PRETOR was at firſt ſupreme Judge in all Cauſes of *private* Right, had the Guardianſhip of Orphans and Tuition of Changelings, much in the ſame manner as our *Lord High Chancellor:* afterwards his Tribunal received Impeachments of a more *public* nature, illegal Exactions of Governors, Injuries done to Allies, and all manner of Extortion and Violence. From his Reſidence in *Rome* he was called the *Town-Pretor*. But when the Buſineſs flowing upon him, both from the growing City, and from the Provinces, turned too weighty to be managed by one Man, they created a ſecond called the *Country-Pretor* †; and in proceſs of time, as the Empire increaſed, they found

* Erected anno U. C. 388.

† Anno U. C. 510.

found themſelves obliged to augment the number of Pretors, firſt from two to four, then to ſix, then to eight. The Uſurper *Julius*, to indulge the more of his Creatures, raiſed it laſt of all to ten, inveſting them likewiſe with the Authority of *Generals* and *Judges* in the Provinces, which, after their City-Magiſtracy, fell by lot under their Government. *

THE two *curule* EDILES (ſo termed from the *Ivory Chair*, the Mark of their Dignity, in which they ſat in Judgment) were properly, as their Name denotes, *City-Magiſtrates*: They had the Inſpection and Care of all the Temples, Porticos, and public Buildings under the *Cenſors*: They watched over the Beauty and Regularity of the Streets, fixing their Line at one Corner, and ordering the incroaching Edifice it ſtruck upon when extended to the other, to be inſtantly pulled down. They had likewiſe the Superintendance of the Aqueducts (a vaſt thing in *Rome*) they ſet the Prices of the Markets; viſited diſorderly Houſes †, kept a Liſt of their *lewd Inmates*, and regulated the Police of the Town not unlike our Lords Mayors: But their grand Juriſdiction, and Luſtre of their Office, lay in the ſupreme Direction of the moſt ancient *ſolemn Games*, performed in honour of the *Roman* Gods, or of great Men at their Death. Some of theſe Shews they furniſhed out at their own Expence; and in latter times took that way of courting the Favour of the People for their future Magiſtracies by incredible Profuſion and Magnificence. Both theſe Erections of the *Pretorſhip* and *Edility*, of moderate Influence at the beginning, gradually grew with the Grandeur of the Empire, became Offices of great Power and Authority, and were two of the Steps by which the high-ſpirited Citizens roſe to *the ſupreme Command of the Empire*.

A

* Under the Emperors the Pretors came to be eighteen, and the Ediles ſix in number.

† Invenies *Voluptatem* circa Balnea et Sudatoria, ac loca ÆDILEM metuentia; *Fornices ſcilicet et Popinas.* SENECA.

Licentiam ſtupri apud ÆDILES vulgare. TACIT.

A young aſpiring *Roman*, for example, of ſixteen years of Age, having laid aſide the *Pretexta*, and received the manly Gown *, muſt firſt go abroad as a Volunteer in the Train † of ſome *Conſul*, *Pretor*, or *Prefect*, going to command a Province, and its uſual Concomitant, to conduct a War. If for ſome years he behaved well, he had the recommendation of his ſuperior Officer and of the Cohort to the *Roman* People, towards his being elected a *military Tribune*.—There he entered upon Duty, put in practice what he had learned of the Art of War, and improved in the Knowledge of the Provinces, and the Methods of Government. When about thirty years of Age, he ſtood for the *Queſtorſhip*, a Place of great Truſt, being at the ſame time *Paymaſter* of the Army in his Province, *Commiſſioner of the Revenue*, and next the *Legatus* or Lieutenant in Dignity. Nor was it a ſmall Conſequence of this Office, that it gave a legal Capacity of being choſen into the Senate, either by the Cenſors at next Enrolment ‡, or by Nomination of an elder Senator ‖. Five years after he might be elected, if a Plebeian, into the turbulent Office of Tribune of the People, or if a Patrician, into the curule Edileſhip. Then he aſpired to the *Pretorſhip* already deſcribed, and after an Interval of two years more, to the Dominion of *ROME* **, and ſupreme Magiſtracy. Theſe Steps ſerved as a Sort of State-Apprenticeſhip, which prevented the Nobility or powerful Plebeians, from thruſting their Sons and Minions by force or favour into important Places and high Commands, before they were ripe to diſcharge them.

BUT

* Toga virilis.

† Contubernium.

‡ Luſtrum.

‖ Cum vir virum *legit:* inde in Senatum *allectus*.

** CONSULARE IMPERIUM——nimium, nec tolerabile liberae civitati: nomine enim tantum minus invidioſum, re ipſâ prope atrocius quam REGIUM eſſe; quippe duos pro uno *Dominos* acceptos, immoderatâ, infinitâ poteſtate, qui ſoluti atque effrenati ipſi, omnes metus legum, omniaque ſupplicia verterent in PLEBEM.
TIT. LIVII Hiſt. Lib. III.

BUT beſides the two great Bodies of Men, Nobles and Commons, into which Nations naturally divide, they are ſeldom of conſiderable ſtanding without a *middle* Order forming, which untainted with the Vices incident to either, partakes of the Virtues of both, and conſequently bears a great ſway in the Government. Such are the Gentry in *Great Britain*, correſponding to the Equeſtrian Order in the *Roman* State; — and happy had it been for them and it, had they had a greater ſhare in the Adminiſtration, and been more cloſely connected with the ſource of Authority, the *Senate*. For being uninfected with the Sloth and Pride of the old Nobility, and above the Baſeneſs of the rude Vulgar, they gave many a noble proof of their Valour in War *, and of their Attachment to the better Party †, in times of civil Commotions.

BY a Law of *M. Roſcius Otho* ‡, they had ſeparate Seats aſſigned in the Theatre, to the great mortification of the envious Multitude; and by the ſalutary Policy of *Tullius Cicero*, they were ſtrictly united with the *Patrician* Order. While they continued firm in that union, their additional Weight caſt the balance in the *Tribunician* Struggles, and gave the beſt Counſels a great ſuperiority: But having been diſobliged by the too rigid *Cato*, in an Abatement they prayed in the Rate of the Re-

K venue,

* T. LIVII Hiſt. Lib. V. The *Roman* Knights were called *Celeres* under *Romulus* and the Kings; then *Flexumines*; afterwards *Troſſuli*, from a Town they had taken; then *Judges*, from the Days of the *Gracchi*, (in contempt of the Senate); next *Publicans*, or Farmers of the public Revenue **; and at laſt Cavaliers, or *Knights*, from the *Horſe* they received from the Public.

C. PLIN. Lib. XXXIII. Cap. 2. See page 53. Note *.

** Eum qui Vectigal Pop. Rom. conductum habet PUBLICANUM appellamus.

TIT. de verborum ſignif.

† C. SUETON. TRANQUIL. in C. Julio Cæſare. § 14.

‡ He was Tribune while *C. Calpurnius Piſo*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio* were Conſuls, anno U. C. 686. See HORAT. Epod. Od. IV. EPIST. I. Lin. 57.

venue, (which they uſually farmed under the Name of *Publicans*) and partly deluded, partly corrupted by the Enemy of Liberty *Julius Ceſar*, they unhappily abandoned the Senate, and ſtood idle Spectators of their own, and their Country's Ruin.

BUT under the *Conſular Government* they made *one* of the three great Bodies of the Republic; and tho' they had no ſeparate power of acting, nor could legally vote but as a part of the *Roman* People, yet the affluence of their Fortunes, the ſuperiority of their Senſe and Manners *, and above all, the Returns of the public Money paſſing through their Hands to the ſeveral Magiſtrates, enabled them to promote any Deſign they approved, or thwart any Meaſure diſagreable to their Order.

THE *Subdiviſions* of theſe conſtituent Parts of the Commonwealth, and their particular Methods of Procedure, are not abſolutely neceſſary for underſtanding *theſe MEMOIRS*, or the *general Plan* of the *Roman* Conſtitution. It may only be proper to take notice, that the narrow Domain of *Infant-Rome* had been divided into THREE Diſtricts or Lots, which gave riſe to their reſpective Inhabitants being called *Tribes*, tho' they afterwards increaſed to *thirty five*, as was lately obſerved; that the Cavalry, called originally *Celeres*, (Swift-Men) were likewiſe divided into *three* Squadrons, of one hundred Men each, called *Centuries*; that theſe Tribes were again divided into ten *Curiæ*, or *Wards*, and theſe Wards were ſubdivided into ten Parts, which, from that number, they called *Decuriæ*, Tenth-wards: Over theſe Diviſions were, in the firſt place, three *Chiefs* of the Tribes, called TRIBUNES; thirty Chiefs of the Wards, called *Curiones*, or *Guardians*; and three hundred inferior Officers, called *Decurios*, over the ſmalleſt Diviſion of the People. †

THE

* HORAT. de Arte Poeticâ, Lin. 248.

† Τριχῇ νείμας ὁ Ρωμύλος τὴν πληθὺν ἅπασαν, ἑκάσων τῶν μοιρῶν τὸν ἐπιφανεσάτον ἐπίσημον ἡγεμόνα. ἔπειτα τῶν τριῶν πάλιν μοιρῶν ἑκάστην εἰς δέκα μόιρας δίελων, ἑ-

Cou

THE *Economy* therefore, if I may ſo call it, of the *Roman State* was not confined to the great conſtituent Bodies of the Republic; but by theſe *Subdiviſions* was diffuſed through all its Branches, inſpired a ſpirit of Order and Subordination into the loweſt of the Vulgar, (naturally the moſt diſorderly part of a Nation) facilitated both their civil Procedures and military Levies; while the almoſt continual Wars in which *Rome* was engaged, gave the leaſt Officer opportunities to exerciſe his Power, and effectually prevented their dwindling into *Sinecures.*

THIS, then, was the exterior FRAME and general TEXTURE of the CONSULAR-CONSTITUTION. But the chief part of the *Roman* Government ſtill remains undeſcribed; with this hard condition, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to find Language fully to paint it. What I mean is, the *high Spirit* and *ſteady Virtue*, which was the Life and Soul of that glorious Republic; which inſpired their counſels, conducted their enterprizes, and animated every branch of the Adminiſtration. For after the Expulſion of their Tyrants, a new Vigour ſeemed to be infuſed into every *Roman* Breaſt: Each felt himſelf a *free Man*, and ſwelled his Heart with generous Joy: Every *Patrician* looked upon himſelf as a *Prince*; every *Commoner* thought he was raiſed to a new *Dignity:*

ζους ἡγεμόνας ἢ τούτων ἀπέδειξε τὺς ἀνδρειοτάτυς. ἐκάλει δὲ τὰς μὲν μείζους μόιρας ΤΡΙΒΟΥΣ, τὰς δ' ἐλάττους ΚΟΥΡΙΑΣ, ὡς ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ἔτι προσαγορεύονται. εἴη δ' ἂν ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα μεθερμηνευόμενα ΦΥΛΗ μὲν ἢ Τριττὺς ἡ Τρίβος, ΦΡΑΤΣΑ δὲ ἢ Λόχος ἡ Κουρία· ἢ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰς τριττῦς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες Φύλαρχοί τε ἢ Τριττύαρχοι ἓυς καλῦσι Ρωμαῖοι ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΥΣ· οἱ δὲ ταῖς κουρίαις ἐφεστηκότες, Φρατρίαρχοι ἢ Λοχαγοὶ, ὕυς ἐκεῖνοι ΚΟΥΡΙΩΝΑΣ ὀνομάζυσι. διήρητο δὲ ἢ εἰς δεκάδας αἱ φράτραι πρὸς αὐτῦ, ἢ ἡγεμὼν ἑκάστην ἑκόσμει δεκάδα, ΔΕΚΟΥΡΙΩΝ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν προσαγορευόμενος.—— ἐκ δὲ τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης ὐ μόνον τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα σώφρονας ἐλάμβανε ἢ τελαγμένας τὰς διοικήσεις, ἀλλὰ ἢ τὰ πολεμικὰ ταχείας ἢ ἐυπειθεῖς. And it is remarkable, that the reciprocal or equivalent Appellations uſed by the Greek Hiſtorian in explaining the Latin ones, are, the firſt a *civil*, and the other a *military* Term.

ΔΙΟΝΤΣ. Ἁλικαρν. Ἀρχαιολ. Βιϐ. β.

ty: no Awe nor Terror over their Heads but the Laws; no meaner Thoughts than Honours and Happineſs at home, and abroad Conqueſt and Glory. For now the celebrated Hiſtorian's Obſervation concerning the newly-freed *Athenians*, was fully verified; 'That it appeared, not in one Inſtance or two, 'but over all the World, that Liberty and Laws give *Excel-* 'lency to Men; for the People of *Athens*, ſays he, while under 'the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus* and his Sons, were in military mat- 'ters nothing better than their Neighbours; but, having once 'got rid of their Maſters, they ſoon became far ſuperior to all 'around them *.' The noble Spirit inſeparable from Liberty, quickly ſhone forth in the great occaſions the *Romans* immediately had to ſhew it; and being kept by a train of them in conſtant exerciſe, it became habitual to the People and turned a *national Character*. And firſt the TARQUINS, baniſhed from *Rome*, wandered up and down among the neighbour Princes, and found ſome who had the Folly to think the Cauſe of every abdicated King *their own*. PORSENNA, a brave *Tuſcan* Prince, eſpouſed their Quarrel, marched with a powerfull Army againſt the new Common-wealth, preſſed hard upon the City, cut off their Proviſions, and reduced them to a deplorable State.

IN this Extremity it was, that they ſhewed what a matchleſs invincible Virtue LIBERTY inſpires: *Then* it was that a ſingle *Roman*, *Horatius Cocles*, kept the whole *Tuſcan* Army at a Bay, untill the Bridge behind him was broke down,—then leaped, armed as he was, into the Stream, and ſwam unhurt to the friendly Shore. *Then* it was that *C. Mutius Scevola* burnt the Hand that had miſſed ſtabbing the Invader;—that even a young Lady eſcaped from cuſtody with her Fellow-hoſtages, mounted the

* Δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἓν μοῦνον, ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ΙΣΗΓΟΡΙΑ ὡς ἐστὶ χρῆμα σπουδαῖον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ τυραννευόμενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶς τῆς σφέας περιοικεόντων ἔσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους; ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῷ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ἐγένοντο.

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΤΕΡΨΙΧ.

the firſt Horſes they met with, and when cloſely purſued, plunged into the Stream, and ſwam over the ſwelled *Tyber* to the *Roman* bank: and *then* it was that the whole Body of the Citizens, tho' famiſhed almoſt to death, bid the *Tuſcan* King 'ſpare his 'pains and interpoſition for the TARQUINS, ſince they were 'firmly reſolved to undergo every ſpecies of Miſery, rather than 'receive back the Tyrant and his Race.' *PORSENNA* had the generoſity to admire their Virtue, draw off his Army, and leave them a *happy* becauſe a *free* People.

AFTER ſurmounting this fierce attack, their Liberty, like a thriving Tree ſhaken by the winds, took deeper root: the power of their new Conſtitution, and the high Integrity with which it was adminiſtered, began to diffuſe their Influence on every ſide, and produce marvellous Inſtances of all kind of Virtue. At home, there was nothing but contented Poverty, Induſtry, Innocence, Modeſty and Obedience; abroad, nothing but Juſtice and Public-faith, ſupported by the trueſt Courage, and fierce undaunted Spirit that ever enflamed a Nation. Moderation in proſperity, and Magnanimity in misfortunes was a *Roman* maxim, and a *Roman* practice.

BUT it is to be regreted that thoſe who have hitherto touched upon this beautiful ſubject of the *Roman* MANNERS ſeem to be deficient in this reſpect: They aſſure us they were *temperate*, *generous* and *brave*; equally fitted to *command* or *obey*, and propoſe them as *Patterns* of public and private Virtue: But are at no pains to inſtruct us, *how* theſe Manners *came to be formed?* what originally produced them? what maintained them ſo long? or by what fatal turn they came firſt to be tainted, and were totally effaced at laſt: tho' without ſatisfying us in theſe points, we enjoy but half the pleaſure, and reap none of the inſtruction which the Subject amply affords.

THE

THE ancient Inhabitants of ITALY, like thoſe of *Great Britain*, were a mixture of many Nations *. The oldeſt ſeem to have been *Celts* or *Gauls*, called by the *Latin* writers *Aborigines*; a rude race of Mortals, whoſe ſavage Manners gave riſe to the fables of the *Monſters* that poſſeſſed the *Italic* ſhore. Among theſe ſome wandering Tribes from *Lydia* and *Phrygia* ſeem to have firſt imported the knowledge of the *Arts of Life*, together with ſome ſeeds of *Religion*; as we gather from the *eaſtern* Originals of the Names of their Gods, and Inſtruments of Worſhip. —But the ſouthern Parts of Italy, and the *Coaſt* on both ſides, were certainly peopled from *Greece*; and, of all the Greek Nations, the hardy People of the *Peloponneſus* ſeem to have moſt affected the climate and ſoil of Italy †, and under *Hercules*, *Evander*, *Phalanthus*,

* There are evident Proofs of this *Mixture* in their Language, which the curious will not be diſpleaſed to have briefly pointed out. The *Body* and general ſtructure of the *Latin* Tongue is CLIPT GREEK: its declenſions, flexions, and ſyntax being lamely copied from the other; which made the *Greeks*, where they could ſpeak with freedom, give the *Romans* the deriſory appellation of ΟΠΙΚΟΤΣ, *i. e. Rude Bablers* **. Thro' this main Body of their Speech are ſcattered many words purely *eaſtern*, which we can trace in the remains of the *oriental Tongues*, (beſides the names of their Gods) ſuch as *Cano*, *pateo*, *Canna*, *Calumnia*, and hundreds more, among which is the *Name* of ROME itſelf, ſo called from the *HEIGHT* on which it firſt ſtood. Theſe they probably owe to the *Phrygians* and *Lydians* that ſettled in Tuſcany, and the *Environs* of Rome: The reſt of their language is all CELTIC, the dialect long prevalent after the founding of the Roman ſtate in the neighbourhood of the City, in *Gallia-ciſpadana*, and among all the inhabitants of the *Alpine hills*. This is ſo interwove with the *Latin*, that any Word, eſpecially names of the moſt *obvious Things*, which can neither be traced to a *Grecian* nor *Oriental* ſource, may be almoſt concluded to be of a CELTIC original: Such as, for example, *Mare* the Sea, *Ignis* Fire, *Aſqua* Water, *Gladius* a Sword, *Manus* a Hand, *Saxum* a Rock, *Palus* a Pool, *Lacus* a Lake, with an infinity more.

** CATO apud PLIN. Lib. IX.

† Μογίς τε ἡ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ, ἡσυχάσασα ἡ ΕΛΛΑΣ βεβαίως, ἢ ἔκ ἔτι ἀνισαμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψε· ἢ Ιωνας μὲν ΑΘηναίοι, ἢ νησιωτῶν τὰς πολλοὺς ὥκισαν· ΙΤΑΛΙΑΣ δὲ ἡ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑΣ τὸ πλεῖσον ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΙΟΙ τῆς τε ἄλλης Ελλάδος ἐσὶν ἃ χωρία. ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔ. βιβ. Α.

Phalanthus, and other Leaders, to have made it the uſual Receptacle of their ſupernumerary Youth, or Refuge of an overpowered Tribe when driven from home by an Invaſion.

Now theſe Removes happened, and theſe Colonies were ſettled long before *Greece*, and eſpecially the *Peloponneſus* knew what LUXURY was. It was an *Aſiatic* Plant, brought from that rich and ſlaviſh Country, which firſt took root in the great trading Towns that lay neareſt its Mother-Soil. It was long e're it reached the *Peloponneſus*, eſpecially the inland mountainous parts, *Arcadia* and *Lacedemon*, from whom iſſued the chief Colonies that peopled the *Italic* borders. They were then a fierce hardy Race, remarkable for the harſhneſs of their Diet, and the ſtrength of Body, and ſturdineſs of Mind that always attend it. When the *Spartan Spirit* firſt began to riſe, they conſulted the Oracle, according to the cuſtom of the Times, or rather prayed the God that he would enable them to ſubdue their ſtubborn Neighbours the *Arcadians*; but were anſwered, *NO*; for this remarkable Reaſon, '*that there were many ACORN-EATING Men that lived in broad Arcadia.*

WE cannot therefore doubt, but theſe Peloponneſian-Swarms retained the ſtamp of the hardy Manners of their parent Hive; and mixing with the ſavage *Celts* and ſuperſtitious *Tuſcans*, without diminiſhing the Fierceneſs that was the chief feature in the Character of the ancient *Italic* Nations, they *tempered* it by introducing each the Regulations of their native States. Among theſe one of the moſt remarkable was their ΣΥΣΣΙΤΙΑ*, or the *Spartan* cuſtom of EATING IN PUBLIC: an effectual Bar to Intemperance, and great promoter of Decency and Concord. At theſe ſeaſons the Love of one's Country ſteals into the Heart when it is open;

* Ὅτι ΛΑΚΩΣΙ καὶ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ νόμος ἦν, μὴ ἐξεῖναι τίνι ὀψωνεῖν μήτε ἃ βούλεται, μήτε ὅσα βούλεται· προσέταττον γὰρ διὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων σωφρονεῖν τὺς πολίτας, καὶ διὰ τῆς ΤΡΑΠΕΖΗΣ. οὐχ ἥκιστα.

ΑΙΛΙΑΝ. Ποικιλ. Ἱστορ. βιβ. Γ. § λδ.

open; mutual Friendſhips, like metals, cement beſt, when the Mind is ſoftened in a tender moment; and the Attachment to the Community proceeds now from Inclination, as well as from views of Protection and Intereſt.

FOR a great while the *Romans* ſat not down to their private Meals, without firſt enquiring, *Who were to be at table?* and the Reaſon was, that they might wait the coming of a Man advanced in years, or leave empty for him the moſt honourable place at the Board. After Meat, the aged Gueſts accompanied the Muſic with their awful voice *, not in light Songs or effeminating Aires, but they ſung the daring Deeds of their Anceſtors to the liſtening Youth, and, unfit now for the Field themſelves, fired thoſe about to enter on the active ſcenes of Life with an eager deſire of ſimilar Fame. No wonder if under ſuch diſcipline the young Generation grew up a ſober martial Race; patient and orderly; — yet ardent in the purſuit of Glory: for of all the Inſtitutions contrived by the Wit of Man, no *two* can tend more directly, or operate more effectually in moulding a People to *Temperance*, and at the ſame time rouſing a *martial* Spirit, than *firſt* eating every day as it were under the Eye of the Public, and then conſtantly hearing Virtue exalted, and Services to their Country repaid with merited praiſe. Public *Reſtraints* from intemperance, and *Incentives* to the noble Deeds, were the *Characteriſtics* of the two beſt regulated, and moſt warlike Nations of *Greece*, the CRETAN Common-wealth, and mixed SPARTAN Monarchy. It was the Trophies erected by *Miltiades* after foiling the Perſians, that would not let the young *Themiſtocles* ſleep; and the Sight of *Alexander*'s ſtatue drew Tears from a *young Traitor*, who admired the Macedonian's Raſhneſs, more than the calm, God-like Virtues of his own Citizens.

UNDER

* *Eſt in* originibus, *ſolitos eſſe in epulis canere convivas ad tibicinem* DE CLARORUM VIRORUM VIRTUTIBUS.

M. T. CICERO. Tuſc. Queſt. I.

UNDER theſe Inſtitutions the *Roman* Youth was moulded to modeſty and moderation at home, inured to toil abroad, and indulged no paſſion but the Love of genuine Glory. Their very WOMEN were regular and abſtemious: they drank no wine *, admitted no Viſits, nor went to any Spectacles without their Huſband's permiſſion, and accordingly for 520 years from the founding of the State, there was no inſtance of a wife's being divorced in *Rome*. In return for this their virtue they met with great reſpect without doors, and were likewiſe indulged in that weighty article of a Woman's wiſhes, their *Dreſs*. No *Lictor* or *Serjeant* durſt lay his hand upon a *Roman* Matron, tho' ſummoned to appear before the higheſt Tribunal; — nor did any Magiſtrate, tho' attended with all the pomp of his FASCES, oblige her *to give the way*, if he met her on the ſtreet; and ſhe even procured the ſame deference to her Huſband, if riding with her in the Chariot †. Their Attire was rich and ſplendid, Gold and Purple, and a particular way of burniſhing their Hair with a ſort of aſhes that made it ſhine, ſtill uſed by the *Italian Ladies*. ‡

* ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ἦν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα νόμος ἐῤῥωμένος, ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ ΜΗ ΠΙΕΙΝ ΟΙΝΟΝ· οὔτε ἐλευθέρα γυνὴ ἔπιειν ἂν οἶνον οὔτε οἰκέτις· οὐδὲ μὴν τῶν ἐυγενεστάτων οἱ ἀφ' ἥβης, μέχρι πέντε ϗ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν.

AIΛIAN. Ποικιλ. Ἱστορ. Βιϐ. β. § λη.

† MATRONAE *a* magiſtratibus *non ſummovebantur: quam ob cauſam nec* viri *earum ſedentes cum uxoribus in vehiculis deſcendere cogebantur.*

VERRII FLACCI Fragm.

‡ *Indulgentibus maritis, et auro abundante,* et *multâ purpurâ uſae ſunt,* et, *quo formam ſuam concinniorem redderent, ſummâ cum diligentiâ* capillos cinere rutilârunt; *ſays* Valerius Maximus; *and leſt this finery ſhould be thought to lead to wantonneſs, he immediately ſubjoins,* Nulli enim tunc ſubſeſſores alienorum matrimoniorum occuli metuebantur, ſed pariter et videre ſanctè, et aſpici mutuo pudore cuſtodiebantur. Lib. II. § 1. 'For *among the ancient* Romans, *they had no apprehenſion of any* 'lewd eye *lying in wait for another man's wife*;' but both ſexes could ſee and be ſeen with perfect innocence.

THE *TWO* chief Sources, therefore, of the *Roman* VIRTUE were firſt their *primitive Poverty*, which afforded them neither *Examples* nor *Fuel* for *Vice*; and next, the deep tincture of *Peloponneſian* Blood and Manners. It is paſt diſpute 'that the 'knowledge of any Vice muſt preceed the practice of it:' But at the founding of *Rome*, the general way of living all over *Italy* was happily barbarous with reſpect to the Refinements of Luxury. Its original Planters, *Romulus* and his Band, and the confluence of Banditti, knew none of the effeminating arts: their Vices were Cruelty and Violence, not ſloth the peſt of States, and its mean concomitant unmanning Pleaſure:—of a pernicious nature indeed, but more convertible to Virtue than the low Habits that enervate the body, and debaſe the ſoul:—accordingly the rapacious ſanguinary Turn of the firſt *Romans* was mitigated by that divine Politician NUMA POMPILIUS, and the *Fierceneſs* left; or to ſay it better, that Fierceneſs by a religious Policy was brought under the national Diſcipline, became not only manageable but ſalutary to the Public, by falling only where it was directed, upon the Enemies of the *Roman* Welfare and Proſperity.

As for the *Peloponneſian* Cuſtoms, they had taken ſuch deep root in *Italy*, that the great Maſter of manners, and conſummate Antiquarian ARISTOTLE, makes the chief of them, the ΣΥΣΣΙΤΙΑ, *the Citizens eating together in public*, to have taken its riſe *not* from *Lacedemon*; nor even from *Crete* itſelf, whence *Lycurgus* was thought to have brought the Plan of his laws, but originally from ENOTRIA, or antient *Italy*. 'There, ſays he, 'the knowing in their hiſtory affirm that one *Italus* reigned, 'who gave his name to that European promontory lying be-'tween the *Scylletic* and *Lamiac* Bays, and changed that of the 'Inhabitants from *Enotrians* to *Italians*, and likewiſe their man-'ner of life to Agriculture from Paſturage. He was the Author

'of

'of many laws, and among the reſt firſt inſtituted the ΣΤΣΣΙ-'ΤΙΑ, or *public Tables*, long before the days of *Minos*.'*

BUT from which ſoever country the happy Inſtitution came, it is ſufficient for our purpoſe that it was *practiſed* in both; as were many other Rites that ſhew a ſimilitude of Manners: Men are not more apt to carry any one thing abroad than a tincture of their *native Religion*, even tho' they have not been extremely devout at home. The PELASGI expelled from *Argos*, and ſettling in Italy, built a temple in *Valerium* to the great *Argive* Goddeſs JUNO, and appointed a Prieſteſs and Ceremonies in the ſame manner as thoſe practiſed in *Greece:* Other Tribes transferred the appellations of the Hills and Vales of their Mother-country to their new habitations in Italy: thus the Capitolin-Mount was conſecrated by the *Eleans*, who came over with the Planter and Preſerver of many nations HERCULES, to ancient Saturn, in imitation of the ΛΟΦΟΣ ΚΡΟΝΙΟΣ, the famed *Saturnian-hill* in ELIS, upon the banks of *Alpheus* in the *Piſcan* Territory: and in a word, the People of *Peloponneſus* occupied the Country, and founded the little Cities that ſubſiſted for more than ſeven hundred years, all around ancient *ROME*. †

AND *here*, for the ſake of ſuch as are leſs acquainted with the affairs of *Greece*, the Fountain of arts, and Honour of humanity, it may be proper to obſerve, that of all the Grecians the People of the *Peloponneſus* were the moſt famed for public and private virtue; and of all the Peloponneſians, the *Doric-tribe* were diſtinguiſhed by their bravery and temperance; and accordingly their *Dialect*, when compared with the other Grecian

* Τύτον δ' λέγουσιν τὸν ΙΤΑΛΟΝ νομάδας τῦς Ὀινότρυς ὄντας ποιῆσαι γεωργύς, ϗ νόμυς ἄλλυς τε ἀυλοῖς θέσθαι, ϗ τὰ ΣΥΣΣΙΤΙΑ καλεσῆσαι πρῶτον.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛ. Πολιτ. Η.

† Πόλεις ἔκλισαν ἄλλας τε τίνας, ϗ τὰς μέχρι τῦδε οἰκυμένας, ΑΝΤΕΜΝΑΤΑΣ, τε ϗ ΤΕΛΛΗΝΕΙΣ, ϗ ΦΙΚΟΛΕΝΕΟΤΣ τύς πρὸς τοῖς καλουμένοις Κορνίκλοις ὄρεσι, ϗ ΤΥΒΟΤΡΤΙΝΟΤΣ.

ΔΙΟΝΤΣ. Αρχαιολ. Βιβ. α.

idioms, their *Muſic*, their *Architecture*, and to ſum up all their MANNERS are of a peculiar *manly* ſtamp, marvellouſly expreſſive of the vigour and virtue of their Authors. Now *theſe* were the Forefathers of the Italic nations, who being by degrees incorporated into the City, made up the body of the Roman State, and who, without all doubt, retained as great a reſemblance of the Spirit and Character of their *Peloponneſian* Progenitors, as their Language, the LATIN, peculiarly reſembles the *Dorian* dialect.

BEFORE I mention a third ſource of the Roman Virtue, to obviate the ſurprize it might probably occaſion, I beg leave to premiſe, that as there are two ſorts of *Character*, a public and a private, two ſorts of *Religion*, a public and a private, in the ſame manner there are two ſorts of Wiſdom or *Philoſophy*: So that in a well ordered incorrupt State, Men by living according to the laws and uſages, may live very virtuouſly and *philoſophically*, tho' the *Individuals* be utterly illiterate and ignorant of the *reaſons* of their excellent Inſtitutions. After this, I will own it is my opinion, that as in forming moſt things of value in life, PHILOSOPHY joined its benign influence in modelling the Manners of the ancient *Romans*. I think ſo, not only becauſe the plans of the two celebrated States from whence the Planters of *Italy* originally came, CRETE and LACEDEMON, were laid with the trueſt and deepeſt *Philoſophy*; and whoſe *Spirit* muſt ſurely be propagated with the ſpreading of their Progeny; but becauſe the moſt *national legiſlative* SECT that ever appeared in Europe was flouriſhing in *Italy*, more than in any ſpot on the Globe, *juſt about the time the Roman Manners were taking their true Temper, and they were beginning to know the worth of* Laws *and a* Conſtitution.

UNDER the reign of *Servius Tullius*, the penult King of *Rome*, PYTHAGORAS the *Samian* is ſaid to have come to *Italy*, and fixed his ſchool, or rather *philoſophic Common-wealth*, at Crotona. His Scholars were not boys, nor even youths, but Citizens of the greateſt reſpect from that and the neighbouring States:

Of

Of theſe he had ſometimes upwards of ſix hundred, living together in ſocial Silence, improving their minds and framing their manners, according to the ſtricteſt rules of ſobriety and virtue. The Pythagorean life was far from being purely ſpeculative; but joining *Exerciſe* to Inſtruction it laid deep hold of the Paſſions, and formed thoſe *Habits* that make and preſerve the Happineſs of men. It was received like a divine Revelation over all the South of Italy, its Author being ſuppoſed to work many Miracles, and his doctrine working many more in the reformation of Cities and Nations, as well as in changing the Morals of private perſons. It was in high vogue at that time* when the Romans were forming into a free State, and feeling the want of a ſound Policy. We accordingly diſcover many veſtiges of it in their Religion and Laws†, and would have ſeen many

* PYTHAGORAS came to Italy in the LXII Olympiad, according to *Jamblichus*; the CONSULAR PERIOD began in *Rome* in the LXVII, that is, about *five* and *twenty* years after the Philoſopher's arrival, when his doctrine, by the high proſperity of *Crotona*, which had embraced it, was in the greateſt Reputation.

† There was ſo much of it in *Numa*'s Inſtitutions, that it gave occaſion to a generally received, tho' falſe opinion, that he had been a diſciple of PYTHAGORAS, who lived five generations later than *Numa*. This miſtake might perhaps ariſe from *another* Pythagoras, a *Spartan*, and victor at the *Olympic* games, having come over to *Italy*, and *inſtructed* NUMA in the Spartan laws, as *Plutarch* relates in the life of the Roman Lawgiver. A remarkable *Pythagoric* rite prevailed in both countries, of rearing temples to Divinities without ſtatue or image, and of conſecrating thoſe *Paſſions* that are the Bands of ſocieties, and Springs of action, ſuch as FEAR, FAITH, and the PUBLIC MIND. One of the moſt ſacred temples in Lacedemon, was that of the Goddeſs *FEAR*, whom they worſhipped not by expiations, as a malevolent hurtful Power, but honoured as the *Bond* that held faſt and preſerved their Conſtitution: they had likewiſe temples conſecrated to DEATH, to LAUGHTER, and ſuch other Paſſions as bear ſway over *Humanity* **. In the ſame manner the Romans had early erected a temple to FIDES ††, and ſome hundreds of years afterwards, when Sculpture was admitted, the Statue of this Divinity was placed next to JOVE himſelf in the Capitol, as the *ſecond* power that

** Πλυταρχ. ΑΓΙΣ ϗ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ.

†† See *p.* 26.

many more, had not their greateſt Patriots, and beſt acquainted with their Antiquities, choſe rather to appear *Inventors* themſelves of their wondrous Diſcipline, than acknowledge it as a debt to a Foreigner.*

BUT the grand Source of the Roman Manners, of their Policy both public and private, and conſequently of all their Glory and Grandeur remains yet unmentioned. I believe they owed them at firſt to the Mother of many virtues, *NECESSITY*, and afterwards to a DISCIPLINE raiſed upon it, and kept in vigour by the ſame cauſe from which it originally ſprang. It is a Truth confirmed by univerſal experience, '*That Danger from* '*abroad creates love and concord at home*;' and never was it more ſtrictly verified than in the early ages of Rome. The young State was aſſailed on all hands by the bordering nations, who both envied their ſudden growth, and dreaded their ſpirit and power. Even ALBA their Mother-city ſoon looked with a jealous eye upon the proſperity of her ſons; and turning their Rival, joined with the common Enemy for their deſtruction. The *Volſci* and *Equi* ſucceeded, the *Sabines* and the *Samnites* came often in play, the *Latins* and *Etrurians* took up the quarrel, and the impetuous *Gauls* hung a conſtant terror over their heads. In

that protected the State ‡‡: there was ſomething more noble in the Roman Idea of aſcribing the preſervation of their Polity to *Honour* and *Honeſty*, than in the Spartan worſhip of FEAR, tho' they are both true; and the choice ſhews only the different *Genius* of the people; as do likewiſe the temples dedicated to the prime of political Powers LIBERTY, and to her *firſt-born* MENS, a ſound MIND, or ſalutary public DISPOSITION. ‖‖

‡‡ FIDES——quam in Capitolio vicinam JOVIS opt. max. majores noſtri eſſe voluerunt. M. T. CICER. de Offiic. Lib. III.

‖‖ MENS *quoque numen habet*, MENTI *delubra videmus*
Vota, metu belli, perfide POENE, *tui.* OVID. Faſtor.

* *PYTHAGORAE* autem doctrina, cum longè latèque flueret, permanaviſſe mihi videtur in hanc civitatem——Multa ſunt etiam in *noſtris inſtitutis* ducta a *Pythagoreis*, quae praetereo, ne ea quae peperiſſe ipſi putamur, aliunde didiciſſe videamur.

M. T. CICER. Tuſcul. Lib. IV.

In a word, King after King, State after State, came by force of Arms to bear down or extirpate the riſing Republic. From *theſe* Attacks, and from *this* perilous way of life, the Romans learned the worth of a HOME, and the value of a FELLOW-CITIZEN to reſcue them from the ſword of the Enemy: *Hence* the ſupreme *Love* of their *Country*, and *hence* the Honours of the *Civic-Crown!* The more furious theſe Attacks were, the braver men they produced, and the more intenſe the Danger warded off, the bolder and better prepared it found them the next occaſion.

To the ſame *NECESSITY* they owed that *Order* of their Armies, and *military* DISCIPLINE, which came afterwards to be at once the wonder and terror of the World. A powerfull Enemy on the watch to ſurprize you, and eraze your Country, makes you ſecure your *Camp*; and a whole State going out to battle without a friendly ſpot in view, will produce a *cautious* and *orderly March*. It was *this* Diſcipline, the produce of a thouſand dangers, of many a weary night, and many a bloody day, that gave them at laſt ſuch a ſuperiority over all that durſt front them in the field, and made a life under arms no great hardſhip to a native Roman.

FROM the ſame *NECESSITY* aroſe their inflexible attachment to, and veneration for *this* their military *Diſcipline*; which they well knew to be the Prop of their State, and *ſole* ſalvation from an inſulting Foe*. To *this* they ſacrificed their ſons and neareſt in blood; and for *this* many a noble Youth loſt his head who had fought and conquered contrary to *Orders*. Danger ſtaring you in the face makes Mens ſpirits *eager*, whets their paſſions, and *ſteels* their breaſt; in which condition, unhappy the object that withſtands them, or looks for pity at their hands!

THE

* *Quandoquidem tu*, TITE MANLI, *neque imperium conſulare, neque majeſtatem patriam veritus, adverſus edictum noſtrum extra ordinem pugnaſti, et quantum in* TE *fuit*, DISCIPLINAM MILITAREM, quâ ſtetit ad hunc diem Romana res, *ſolviſti*——morte tuâ *ſanciendæ ſunt* Coss. *imperia*. I, Lictor, deliga ad Palum.

T. LIVII Hiſt. Lib. VIII.

THE ſame *NECESSITY* produced a train of Siſter-virtues; *inviolate Fidelity* in treaties, and *cordial Affection* to their Allies. They knew not how ſoon they might have occaſion for a powerfull aſſiſtance,—might ſtand in need of *hearty* and *zealous* ſervices,—quick and ſure Intelligence,—ſupplies of Proviſions,—Horſes, Recruits; and ſtill more of the hearts and hands of their Confederates in the deciſive day between them and a cruel Enemy. *Theſe*, they knew, were to be purchaſed only by *good uſage*, fair dealing, a ſteady faithful adherence to them, and their Intereſts in the time of danger, and ſecuring to them the full enjoyment of their Properties and Privileges in time of peace.

LET us not be offended at aſcribing ſo much to NECESSITY: a little Reflexion on ourſelves, and our conduct, in private life, will convince us that we owe more of our wiſdom and character to it, than perhaps we are aware: But in public, how hard ſoever the Saying may appear, it is certain that a Nation muſt be SCOURGED into the principles of Liberty and practice of national Virtue: ſometimes by Perils from abroad like the *Venetians*; ſometimes by a Tract of inſult and oppoſition at home, like the *Dutch*; the ſofteſt Mean being the *Example* of ſuffering Friends and Allies, and therefore the leaſt effectual. But no Learning nor Politeneſs, no Elegance of taſte, or Knowledge of the finer Arts, will ever inſpire a people with the rough manly exalted Thought of *being free!*—far leſs can they give the animating Spirit neceſſary to reduce the thought into practice, and actually *aſſert* themſelves into Liberty; and leſs ſtill the Courage and Conſtancy requiſite to maintain the *Struggle* uſually entailed upon the glorious Acquiſition. *ROME* in her firſt ſtages, had all ſorts of *Neceſſities* ſucceſſively adminiſtered to her, as it were *by the hand* of *PROVIDENCE*, in order to raiſe her to be the Miſtreſs of nations, and Head of Empire,—and her Virtues roſe in proportion to them: But when her *Neceſſities* were withdrawn, when ſhe had nothing more to fear from abroad, her Virtues

Virtues ſunk in the ſame proportion they had riſen, and like a Wreſtler who has foiled every Antagoniſt, immerſed in Sloth and Debauchery, ſhe turned corpulent, torpid and unwieldy, and hatched the Humours that haſtened her Diſſolution.

THESE, if I miſtake not, were the Chief Sources of the Roman Virtues, and *this* the fated Chain of co-operating Accidents, that led them to their *civil*, *military* and *religious* CONSTITUTION. A *Conſtitution* ſo happily framed as to be the Spring of foreign Power by a train of *Conqueſt*, and to give play to all the better Paſſions at home, and artfully turn them to the ſervice of the Public: for ſuch were the Steps by which a Roman Citizen roſe to the *Conſulſhip*, became ſupreme Magiſtrate in *Rome*, that is almoſt *Lord of the World* for one year, and of ſome one of its fineſt Provinces for two or three following. But its chief Tendency was to inſpire *military* Virtue, and the *Characteriſtic* of Rome was its being a State fitted for *acquiring* and *keeping* an immenſe Dominion.

IT is commonly ſaid, that providing a Nation were ſure of having always *good* Kings, the happieſt Polity would be *abſolute Deſpotiſm*. I believe upon that ſuppoſition, which in no long Succeſſion was ever yet verified, and is therefore abſurd, a Nation would be liable to the feweſt *Abuſes* of Government: But that the *Grandeur* of the People would be moſt promoted by that Eſtabliſhment, (even allowing it poſſible) is againſt Reaſon and Experience. Let us make a neceſſary Diſtinction between a Model adapted to *domeſtic Quiet*, and a Conſtitution calculated for *Conqueſt* and Propagation of Empire: They are two different Ends, and require different Means. Unhappy the People, ſaid an admired Author, whoſe King is a *Hero!* and the great northern Conqueror GUSTAVUS, being complimented by one of his Courtiers with that Appellation, ſaid with an Ingenuity worthy of it, that 'He and ſuch as *he*, inſtead of Bleſſings, were 'the Plagues of Earth, and Scourges in the Hands of God to 'chaſtiſe the Corruptions of Men.' A Nation therefore propoſing

to live contented within its ancient Limits, and enjoy peace and eaſe at home, may obtain theſe ends, by a Form of Government quite *incapable* of extending their Territory, or from a ſmall or middling State raiſing it to a great Empire. The *Romans* were led by their early Fortunes to a *Form* peculiarly fitted for Conqueſt, I mean the *Conſular-Plan*; the *Energy* of which ſeems to ly in *theſe two.*

In the firſt place, *Kings* are *Men*, and no *one* Man placed in a high Dignity for life, will exert himſelf with that Vigour in the diſcharge of it, that another will do, who muſt found his whole Reputation upon the Exerciſe of it *for one year:* Nor is it poſſible for any Man to keep up to that *Pitch* of Spirit and Activity throughout his whole Courſe, or indeed a few years of it, either thro' Satiety, Inconſtancy, a change of Health or Temper, which a freſh *Succeſſion* of Men will certainly do, entering upon their Command in the prime of their Strength and Reaſon, and vying with one another for Superiority of Fame. Our *Engliſh* Negotiator, and Pattern of a *fine Gentleman*, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, ſays, he has known many an important Project ſpoilt by a Miniſter's falling ill of the Spleen, and many a noble Enterprize miſcarry thro' a General's being ſuddenly taken with the Gout. We accordingly hear of few Conſulſhips, in which there is not ſomething *remarkable* performed, either in the City or the Field:—if otherwiſe, it is told as a kind of Wonder or Reproach: but how many liſtleſs Years thrown away by Monarchs in Idleneſs and Inactivity? But it is no longer a Doubt among Stateſmen, whether drowſy Peace and lethargic Quiet be more profitable for a *riſing* Nation, than interjected Struggles to awake its Paſſions, make it feel its own ſtrength or weakneſs, and teach it what VIRTUE really is, and what Wonders it can bring to paſs. By *Virtue* I mean national *Temperance*, with its followers *Frugality* and *Fortitude*, and their attendants, *Juſtice* and good *Diſcipline:* Things that are never to be learned in Proſperity and Eaſe, and without which no Nation's Name ever ſtood fair

fair in the records of Fame. But among all the human Paſſions there is not one produces greater Effects, or atchieves more difficult Undertakings, than a *noble Emulation*; and never had it a fairer field, than between the two *annual* Magiſtrates of ROME. It frequently began early, while they were ſtanding for the inferior Offices; and ſeldom failed in the *Competition* for the Conſulſhip: after which the chief Anxiety of either Conſul was, that his *Collegue* ſhould not return triumphant to *Rome*, crowned with Glory for his after-life, while *he* remained obſcure, or marked with Ignominy. And this Anxiety, like a powerfull *Stimulus*, made them eager on War, and impatient to do ſomething worthy of the Admiration of their Fellow-citizens: Many a Battle was given e're their Collegue ſhould come up, to keep the honour of the Victory entire, which under *another* General would never have been riſqued; and many a *furious Puſh* made to *finiſh* a war during their own Command, leſt the Fruit of their Fatigues and Dangers ſhould be reaped by their *Succeſſor*. Theſe Puſhes were generally made at the *Expence* of the Enemy, and their *Profit* accrued to the growing Republic.

IN the firſt ages of the Common-wealth, it was *underſtood* the two new Conſuls ſhould take the field as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted: *War* they laid their account with, and longed for, as the ſole Road to Triumphs, and Foundation of their future Fame: Incredible was the Spirit with which they ſet about it, and their intenſe Keenneſs, Conſtancy, and Vigilance ſurmounted Obſtacles, and accompliſhed Enterprizes till then thought impracticable by Mortals. If ROME had received any Affront, if their Ambaſſadors had been maltreated, their Provinces harraſſed, their Trade injured, or eſpecially if their *Allies* had been invaded, the new *Conſul* was ordered to march to their relief: And when he laid aſide his Senator's Robe, put on his military Dreſs *, and with

* Ad bellum cum exit Imperator, ac Lictores mutant veſtem, et ſigna incinuerunt, PALUDATUS dicitur proficiſci.

M. Ter. VARRO de Ling. lat. Lib. VI.

the Lictors in their warlike Acoutrements, and the Band of Trumpets playing before him; when thus, I ſay, he marched out at the head of the Legions from Rome, '*Wo to the Nation againſt* '*whom he pointed his ſword!*' By the *Senate*'s Decree every thing was appointed for his March;—the numbers of his Foot and Horſe,—the quantity of Proviſions, Forage and Cloathing; what *Allies* he was to call to his aſſiſtance, and what *Terms* e're he began hoſtilities, he was to offer the Enemy: Yet ſtill a great diſcretionary Power was left to himſelf, to act according to Emergencies. In this Order, ſurrounded by a Troop of young *Patricians* ardent for glory, and old veteran *Tribunes* and *Centurions*, commanding the beſt diſciplined, moſt obedient, and conſequently moſt dreadfull Armies the Sun ever ſaw, he approached the hoſtile Frontier. When arrived upon the Borders, he ſent his *Herald* to hold out the Roman Juſtice and Clemency with one hand, and point to the *formidable Legions* with the other. If the Conditions preſcribed by the CONSUL were accepted, he immediately wrote to the *Senate* of the Nation's Submiſſion, and deſired Orders to lead againſt another Enemy: but if the profered Conditions (frequently pretty ſevere) were rejected, he then advanced into the Heart of the Country, counting every Step he took, and informed of every Hill and River he paſſed. His Camp he fortified at every Movement like a *City*, and his Troops lived in it with more, I need not ſay Regularity, but *Sobriety*, upon their plain *vegetable* Diet, than their Fellow-citizens were doing on their Farms about Rome. In this cautious and ſteady manner he paſſed on, giving no Advantages, and ready to graſp at every one which a divided Country, or unwary Foe might give, or which his own Experience when *Volunteer*, *Queſtor*, *Pretor*, or *Lieutenant* to former Conſuls, could teach him to take. He had no Intereſt to purſue but the Grandeur of Rome, and his own Glory,—no Treachery nor Mutiny to fear;—Every thing plied before him. To come to a *Battle* was his ſupreme Wiſh, that he might decide the War

at

at a Blow; but if that did not favour him, he penetrated into the moſt populous Provinces, diſtreſſed the chief Towns, and either had them ſurrendered upon Conditions, or elſe the *Vine-works* were played, the *Tortoiſe* was applied, or the *battering Ram* thundering on the Walls, in a ſhort time made the *Roman-Conſul* their Maſter. Thoſe who capitulated were ſure to have the Articles ſacredly obſerved, their Perſons kept inviolate, their Privileges confirmed or enlarged, and if under an oppreſſive Government, their *Condition* certainly made better than before. All this the *Conſul* preſſed on impatient, that if poſſible he might put an end to the War with the Campaign, and return to the Object of his Wiſhes, and Pride of his Heart, the TRIUMPH, that is, To enjoy the Applauſe and Admiration of his Citizens, and the Approbation of a Sett of ſuch God-like Men, as himſelf during the reſt of his Life.

THIS was the uſual and *annual* courſe of the CONSULAR GOVERNMENT. When we attentively conſider it, we are leſs apt to wonder if they increaſed ſo mightily, and conquered ſo rapidly, once it was fairly eſtabliſhed, and they at full Liberty to follow its Dictates, indulge the *Spirit* it inſpired, and take *their Swing* in its Execution. To this then *ROME* chiefly owed her Majeſty, and the *Romans* their Empire:—To that *Succeſſion of annual Sovereigns, who had roſe by degrees to the ſupreme Command, and whoſe Merits or Miſdemeanours in that high Office were to make them for ever the Object of the Admiration, or Scorn of their People.*

THE ſecond Character of conquering *Rome* was the correſponding *Freedom* of her CIVIL CONSTITUTION. Tho' the Keenneſs and Capacity of a General will do wonders, even with an indifferent Army, yet if they are not *ſeconded* by the Ardour and Bravery of the Troops, he muſt meet with many Checks, and probably a fatal *Reverſe* of Fortune in the Iſſue: But that Bravery and Spirit is ſolely the Gift of *public Liberty* and *private Temperance*. It is no rigid crampt Eſtabliſhment, nor ſtrict Regulations, like the Rules of a *Convent*, that produce great Genius's

us's, or Men fit for Action. There muſt be *room* for Struggles to raiſe the Spirits,—I ſay *room* for them, *allowed* by the *Conſtitution:* where all is *Command* on one hand, and all *Submiſſion* and *Obedience* on the other, there is no *room* nor *occaſion* for Vivacity, Activity, Generoſity, Intrepidity, Conſtancy, Eloquence, Addreſs, and a train of Virtues neceſſary to ſurmount Difficulties, diſtreſs Enemies, oblige Friends, lead in the *Forum*, or lord it in the *Field*. There muſt be *Play* for the Paſſions to awake them, and *Experience* muſt teach the *meaſures* of their Government. A Man muſt mount in the war-ſaddle, who would be a *Maſter* in Horſemanſhip; and he muſt exerciſe the Foile, who would excell at the Sword. The *Romans* were conquering abroad, when they were engaged in high *Conteſts* of the Nobles and Commons at home. While theſe Conteſts were managed in a *legal* and *regular* manner, like Diſſenſions among Fellow-citizens, they only whetted their ſpirits, and rouſed their mettle; they ſhewed the *People* that they were *free Men*, and the *Nobility* that they muſt recommend themſelves by their Capacity, Bravery and Worth, or be deſpiſed. No ancient Blood, no Merit of Anceſtors was to palliate the Sloth, the Pride, the Arrogance of an effeminate young Lord, tho' deſcended from the *Decii* or the *Fabii*, while a bold eloquent *Tribune* was inſtructing the ROMAN PEOPLE in their native Rights, and inflaming their Contempt of *worthleſs Nobility*.

THE Wonder was, that a Spirit running ſo high between jarring violent Factions, ſhould have been attended with ſuch Submiſſion to the Laws, and Deference to public Authority: And indeed the Management of the firſt Broils between the Nobles and Commons, is a grand proof of the *Innocence* of their Manners, and the *primitive* Temper of the People. The Commons, who thought themſelves oppreſſed, ſought no pretence to colour their *Seceſſion*, either from *Religion*, or the *Good* of the *Public*. They did not ſecretly make proviſion of Arms, and inliſt under Leaders to *extort* their Demands; nor did they even come

come and ſeize upon the *Forum*, to paſs *partial* Laws and exclude their Adverſaries from their ancient Rights: No; they were not yet inſtructed by ſuch Men as *Pub. Clodius* and *Julius Ceſar*, in the pernicious Politic of putting a *legal* Face upon an *illegal* Action. They gathered openly in a Body, plainly owned their Grudge at the exorbitant Wealth and Privileges of the *Patricians*, and retiring from the City, ſat down on the ſide of a neighbouring Hill, obſtinately refuſing *to bear any longer the Burden of the State, without better Conditions.* *

By ſuch Struggles as theſe the *SPIRIT* of the COMMONS was raiſed; they were made *conſcious* of their Weight and Independency; and when their Country called to Arms, became fit Inſtruments to *ſecond* the reſtleſs Ambition of the CONSULS. Their early Poverty, and the Diſtreſſes of their State, had produced their admirable Diſcipline and Virtues;—and theſe Virtues *freely exerciſed* under their happy Conſtitution, produced the peculiar and exalted Character of the *ancient Romans:* A PEOPLE inexorably *firm* to Public Good, *brave*, *generous* and *juſt*, dreading Diſhonour more than death, loving Fame more than life, and the Soul of a Hero in the Breaſt of every Citizen.

It is not therefore, as was ſaid, a *ſevere Police*, nor a Multiplicity of *Laws ſtrictly practiſed*, that fits a Nation for Conqueſt and permanent Empire. There were *many* ſuch States in Italy and Greece that were abſorbed by the *ſuperior Genius* of warlike *Rome*. The Locrians are celebrated by two of the greateſt Judges †, as the beſt regulated State in the world. Their Laws were drawn from the *Cretan*, *Spartan*, and *Areopagitic* Models, refined and made more preciſe by the famed *ZALEUCUS.*

* T. Livii Hiſt. Lib. II.

† ΛΟΚΡΟΙ —— οἱ δὴ δοκεσι εὐνομώτατοι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον γεγονέναι. ΠΛΑΤΩ. Νομ. Α And the moſt judicious Strabo. Πρῶτοι δὲ νόμοις ἐγγραπτοῖς χρήσασθαι πεπιστευμένοι εἰσὶ οἱ ΛΟΚΡΟΙ καὶ πλείστον χρόνον εὐνομηθέντες. — Τέτο δὲ καὶ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ εἴρηκεν. ὅτι παρ' οἷς πλεῖστοι νόμοι καὶ δίκαι παρὰ τέτοις καὶ βέλτιστοι μοχθηροί. ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝ. Βιβ. 5.

LEUCUS. Yet they made no *Conqueſts*, while *Rome* was ſubduing all around it, and reduced at laſt the *Locrians* themſelves under the Roman Yoke. Even hardy SPARTA, tho' modelled to *military Virtue*, and its Conſtitution profoundly contrived to frame the Citizens *for Soldiers*, from and before their Cradle, found it impoſſible at once to graſp a *wide* Dominion, and retain its *preciſe* Polity. They made glorious Stands in defence of Greece; and did Wonders while after the Campaign they could *winter* in Lacedemon.—But no ſooner took they footing in a foreign Clime, than like a Plant torn from its natural ſoil, they loſt at once their Laws, Liberties and Virtue; and became ſo far the Reverſe of their Anceſtors, that when *Titus Flaminius* came over, the Deliverer of enthralled Greece, he found the *Spartans* abject Slaves under a cruel Tyranny. *

THESE two *Characteriſtics* of the *Roman* Conſtitution, a *reſtleſs executive* Power always on the Rack when not *in action*, and a *national Independency* producing a fierce undaunted People to fill their Legions, combined with their original *Manners* and *Fortunes*, to produce the peculiar predomining character of ROME, to wit, *A military State equally fitted to make Conqueſts and to keep them.*

LET us for a moment revolve in our minds the Riſe and Progreſs of this wond'rous People; — we will find that *Rome* was no upſtart State; — no favourite of Fortune, of a ſudden growth, and as ſudden decay. It owed its Grandeur to no ſudden Run of Felicity, nor acquired its Dominion by a Career of Victories obtained without a check: No—

It was by awfull Deeds,
Virtues and Courage that amaze mankind,
The QUEEN OF NATIONS roſe—— †

The CITY was more founded in the Blood of the *Horatii*, the *Decii*, the *Curtii*, than in that of the Twin-brother ‡, or of the

* ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ Ιστορ. βιβ. † LIBERTY, a poem by Mr. Thomſon.
‡ Remus.

the *Sabine* King *: Its Liberty was bought with the Blood of the *Bruti*, and of all that fell in the *Tuſcan* Invaſion: But who can recount the Millions of brave Men that periſhed in the Propagation of the Empire? ROME itſelf was ſacked by the *Gauls: Porſenna* and *Pyrrhus* routed their Armies.—The *Samnites* made them ignominiouſly paſs under a yoke. Their Legions were again and again cut to pieces by *Hannibal*; who ſlew their Conſuls, laid waſte their Towns, diſtreſſed their Allies, and marched thro' *Italy* from the northern *Alps*, to the ſouthmoſt Point in *Abruzzo*.

HERE then is the *ſhining Diſtinction* of the Roman Republic, which ſeparates them from the Founders of the greateſt Empires prior to the *Conſular Eſtabliſhment*, 'that they were not 'for one Generation or two a warlike victorious People.—Nor 'was it by the lucky Iſſue of one Expedition, or Fate of a few 'Battles, that they purchaſed their mighty Dominion: But they 'were *a Nation of Soldiers, a conquering triumphant State*, that 'amid a thouſand Traverſes of adverſe Fortune and conſpiring 'Diſaſters, maintained a bloody Struggle againſt the greateſt 'Powers then in being for upwards of four hundred Years, and 'in that ſpace by a ſteady Courſe of private and public Vir-'tue conquered the moſt warlike Nations of the then known 'World.'

THREE Battles, two with the *Aſſyrians*, and one with the *Lydians*, laid the Foundation of the *Perſian* Empire; and other three, at *Granicus*, *Iſſus*, and *Arbela*, transferred it to *Alexander* and the *Grecians*. An equal number of capital Engagements made *Gengis-Can* Maſter of *Aſia*; and *two* gave *Mangi* or South-*China* into the Hands of *Cubli-Can*, his great Grandſon. The *Saracens*, excepting the *Cruſados*, purchaſed *Egypt* and *Africa* at the Expence of very litle Blood; and the *Turks* had the *eaſtern* Empire upon no harder Conditions. But there was not a little *Diſtrict* all around *Rome*, which ſooner or later had not coſt a cruel

* Titus Tatius.

Struggle, nor ſcarce a Province (except the Legacies of *Attalus* and *Nicomedes*) which was not the Price of Roman Blood, earned by many a weary March, and many a fierce Conflict: So that to ſum up all, we may affirm, that the *Romans* fought more Battles for the Poſſeſſion of *Spain* alone, than the greateſt Conquerors upon record did for the utmoſt Extent of their Dominion. And this, as it was the original Cauſe of the Roman Elevation, ſo it continued the inceſſant Source of their Superiority to all their Rivals. *Proweſs in Arms* is no tranſient Fit of boiling Courage, nor an impetuous ruſhing to battle. It is a calm Habit of enduring Toil, of ſmiling undaunted at Danger, and dreading Death leſs than Diſgrace.

A HABIT, I ſay, acquired by conſtant *Exerciſe*,—that ſort of Exerciſe from which the Romans peculiarly named their *Army*, (EXERCITUS) and formed their alternate phraſe, *at home or abroad* *, to ſignify the better half of a *Roman*'s Life was *in Warfare*. Had this aſpiring People in their Beginnings found great Facility in reducing the neighbouring States, and become *Maſters of Italy* with no long or laſting Struggle, it is not probable they had ever gone farther. They had probably ſat down contented with ſo noble an Acquiſition, and like the *Sybarites* or *Tarentines* given themſelves up to Eaſe and Effeminacy. It was early and uninterrupted *Exerciſe* in War, that made the Roman *Legions* ſo terrible; and the *Diſtreſſes* and *Preſſures* that threatened the recent Republic with ruin, became the grand Means of its future Glory. It is the *Want* of ſuch warlike NECESSITIES, if I may ſo ſpeak, that brings *Ruſt* upon the Arms, and *Marcidity* upon the Spirits of a People; and the not being *preſſed* by theſe *Neceſſities*, having no potent ambitious Neighbour to fear, no haughty Rival to contend with, is the ordinary Cauſe of the *Decline of Empires*, and clearly explains what they call the *Youth*, *Manhood*, and *old Age* of a State †. One of our northern

* Domi et militiæ.

† *Deſpiertanſe unos á otros los* REYES, *y adormecenſe tambien.*
L. GRACIAN. El pol. Fernando.

thern Heroes, depreſſed by Fortune and raiſed by his Virtue, the famous King ROBERT BRUCE, left it as his laſt Advice to his People, *To make only Truces, but never a long Peace with their Neighbours:* And from the founding of *Rome* to the Age of *Auguſtus*, the Temple of *two-faced* JANUS, had been but *twice* ſhut; once under the Kings, by *Numa*, and once between the firſt and ſecond *Punic*-war, under the Conſulſhips of *C. Atinius Bulbus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus* the Conqueror of *Sardinia* *. WAR exhauſts other Nations who wage it by *Mercenaries*, whether their own or Foreigners; but it was no more than wholeſom *Exerciſe* to the ROMANS, who by their *Conſtitution* were all Soldiers. They had no ſtanding Armies, nor old Officers, either on half or whole Pay: But every *Conſul*, *Proconſul*, or *Pretor*, was a *veteran General*, and every *Citizen* was trained to Arms, who was able to bear them. The higheſt Commiſſions, eſpecially the Governments of the great Provinces, were often given by the Judgment of the *Senate*, and ſometimes by the Votes of the *People*; the inferior were left to the *Choice* of the General and their former Rank; the Body of the Soldiery were all *Volunteers*, aſſembled by the Concourſe of the Roman Youth, about the new-commiſſioned Conſul, when he placed his Tribunal in the *Forum*, and from the *Cenſor*'s *Roll* called the Citizens fit for Warfare to give their Names, and take the Oath of Obedience to their new Leader: By theſe means *Arms went round*,— and the old Veteran, now a Citizen, at the end of the Campaign judged both of the Conduct of the General, and Courage of the Soldiery.

UNDER the Power of *this* Government, and under the Influence of theſe combining *Cauſes*, grew the glorious Republic of ROME; that Republic, which its civil and military ORDER raiſed to be '*the Pride of Earth, the Center of Nations, where* '*every Virtue heightened by Emulation, and a noble Thirſt of Fame,*

 '*beamed*

* Anno U. C. DXIIX.

'*beamed forth for the Benefit of Mankind:*' * For this generous People were no brutal bloody Conquerors.—Their Dominion, if ſo, had been of ſhort Duration: but to an inflexible Reſiſtance to an *armed Foe*, joining unfeigned Clemency to the *vanquiſhed*, and raiſing themſelves as 'twere above the Power of Fortune, by aſking no other Terms in their higheſt Proſperity than thoſe they had demanded *before* they were Victors; and diſdaining to accept of any in their *loweſt State* but thoſe they had propoſed in their moſt flouriſhing Condition, they became at once the Wonder and Dread of all the Nations that heard the Name of ROME. And firſt, in the ſpace of two hundred and forty five Years from the Eſtabliſhment of their Liberty, they had made all the *Italic* States, from the *Gallic ALPS* to the *Sicilian* Sea, either their Allies or Subjects.—This was the grand *School* of the Roman Diſcipline, where her Conſuls and Legions learned the Art of War; and where (for a Specimen) the *Samnites* alone afforded Materials for *four and twenty* Triumphs. Adjacent SICILY firſt called them *beyond Sea*, to aſſiſt their Allies againſt the *Carthaginian* Invaders; and after a fifty two Years War the famous *Cl. Marcellus*, by taking SYRACUSE, in ſpite of the Menaces of *Hannibal* or Machines of *Archimedes*, reduced it to a Roman Province. *M. Atilius Regulus*, immortal through Contempt of Life, firſt carried the Roman Army into AFRICA. The elder *Scipio*, by the final defeat of *Hannibal*, humbled the Pride of its *mercantile Metropolis*, and his adopted Grandſon, the *Emilian Scipio*, by razing CARTHAGE, made its Domain tributary about two hundred Years after the firſt Expedition. Other two hundred Years interveened from the fatal March of the Brother-*Scipios* into SPAIN, to its being totally reduced by *Auguſtus Ceſar*. The MACEDONIAN *Phalanx* was foiled by the ancient Conſul *Paulus Emilius*; the firm ACHEAN-*League*, the laſt Effort of *Grecian* Liberty, was broke by the rude *L. Mummius*; and *Fulvius Nobilior* brought down the ſtubborn Spirit of the ferocious

* Mr. THOMSON.

and reducing it from one end to the other to its former Obedience, he from thence brought home the Appellation of GREAT, and (what never Man had done before) while yet a *Roman Knight*, entered the City in a Triumphal-Chariot. Being next ſent to reduce *Spain*, then held by *Sertorius*, he reckoned upwards of eight hundred Towns ſtormed and ſurrendered between the *Pyrenean* Mountains and fartheſt parts of *Portugal*; and with a peculiar Greatneſs of Mind, *ſuppreſſing* what he had done againſt ſo great a Captain as *Sertorius*, triumphed again, ſtill a *Knight*, tho' ſo often a *General*. But theſe mighty Deeds, ſufficient to ſuſtain the Reputation of a whole Life, are in ſome meaſure eclipſed by the Splendor of his Victories in the Eaſt. It would require Volumes to deſcribe them; and the Loſs of his Secretary's MEMOIRS (the famed *Theophanes* of *Mitylene*, a Man of vaſt Capacity and no leſs Learning) is deeply to be regreted. Some Idea of his rapid Career of Victory we may gather from the Inſcription of a Temple to MINERVA, the Goddeſs of Wiſdom and well conducted War, which he vowed at his ſetting out. It runs thus.

CN. POMPEY THE GREAT, COMMANDER IN CHIEF,
HAVING FINISHED A WAR OF THIRTY YEARS,
HAVING DISCOMFITED, SLAIN OR RECEIVED TO MERCY
TWO MILLION AND EIGHTY THREE THOUSAND MEN *,
HAVING SUNK, BURNT OR TAKEN EIGHT HUNDRED
AND FORTY SIX SHIPS,
HAVING HAD ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND THIRTY
EIGHT
TOWNS AND CASTLES SURRENDER'D UPON TERMS,
AND HAVING CONQUERED THE COUNTRIES FROM THE
BLACK UNTO THE *RED* SEA,
PAID, AS DUE, HIS VOW TO MINERVA. †

THIS

* The Numbers differ in PLINY: other Copies read 2,183,000 Men.

† C. PLINII Nat. Hiſt. Lib. VII. cap. 26.

THIS was the Summary of this great Man's Expedition to the *Eaſt:* The Articles of it are *weighty*, and the laſt of them, the *Extent* of conquered Lands, will be better underſtood by thoſe acquainted with *ancient* Geography; as that immenſe Tract of Country, firſt depopulated by the *Saracen* and *Tartar* Incurſions, and now kept waſte by the Tyranny of the *Turks*, was formerly full of great Cities, and inhabited by rich and populous Nations. For after giving the final Blow to *Mithridates* (the moſt redoubted Enemy, after *Hannibal*, the Romans ever had) in a Night-Battle in *Armenia*, having received Homage, and an immenſe Sum for the public Treaſury from *Tigranes* the King, he marched into *Media*, thence thro' *Albania* and *Iberia*, to the *Caſpian Paſs*; and where-ever he marched VICTORY attended his Motions. Then turning to the North-weſt, he forced or voluntarily received the Submiſſion of the King of *Colchus*; of the *Heniochians*, *Acheans*, and other People inhabiting the Receſſes of the *Euxine Sea*. From thence turning South he carried his victorious Army thro' *Meſopotamia* to *Syria*, and coming down by Mount *Libanus*, ſo famous in the *Jewiſh* Story, thro' *Damaſcus* he had the *Arabs* ready to obey his Commands; but the unhappy divided *Jews* ſhut their Gates, and endeavoured to defend *Jeruſalem*. It was ſoon taken, but ſpared; the famous Temple opened, its moſt ſecret Receſs ſearched, and POMPEY carried *Ariſtobulus*, the youngeſt of the Brothers contending for the Throne, who had been the Cauſe of the Reſiſtance made by the *Jews*, in triumph to *Rome*.

HE entered the City upon the twenty eighth of September, the Year that *M. Meſſala* and *M. Piſo* were Conſuls, with this Inſcription of his Triumph.

"That having freed the Coaſt round the *Mediterranean* Sea "of Pyrates and Robbers, and reſtored the Empire of the Oce- "an to the Roman People, he triumphed over *Aſia*, *Pontus*, "*Armenia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, "*Scythia*,

"*Scythia, Judea, Albania, Iberia, Baſtarnia, the Iſland* "*Crete, and over* Mithridates *and* Tigranes, *the two* "*mightieſt Kings of the Eaſt.*"

BUT after all theſe ſplendid Titles, and more ſplendid Performances, the moſt glorious Action which this great Perſon ever did, remains yet untold. It was this: That having landed his veteran Legions in *Italy*, when there no Force in the Empire durſt have *look'd him in the Face*; when the Convulſions and Confuſions that had happened in his Abſence afforded him a *plauſible Pretence*; nay, when it was almoſt *expected* he would march to *Rome*, ſeize upon the Republic, and meaſure their *Liberty* by his own *Pleaſure—then*, THEN I ſay, when he had it in his Power, with the greateſt *Facility*, to uſurp the Government, did CNEIUS POMPEY the *GREAT reverence the Laws of his Country, prefer her Privileges to his own Power, diſband the Army with which he had traverſed victorious half the Globe, and entered* Rome, *LIKE A PRIVATE CITIZEN.* Glorious Man! Patriot in this approved! Pattern of civil and military Virtue! Immortal ſhall be thy Fame among all that revere a *Public-Weal*, or are cordial in the Intereſts of *Humanity*; while the Names of *Tyrants* and *Uſurpers*, who have trampled upon the *Rights* of Mankind, and broke thro' the *ſacred Ties of Society*, ſhall, however gilded by Flattery or glaring with Succeſs, be held *in abomination by Poſterity*.

WE have now reviewed the *Conſtitution* of the Roman Government, and traced the *CAUSES* of their Conqueſts: it comes naturally next to be conſidered by what means theſe Acquiſitions became ſo very *permanent*, and ſo perfectly incorporated with the conquering People, as to be like parts of the *original Empire*. It is a Maxim in *Politics*, founded upon the Experience of Ages, *That it is much eaſier to make Conqueſts than keep them*.—The former is frequently done by the Gain of *one* deciſive Battle; the latter can be effected but one of three Ways: either

either you muſt *extirpate* the conquered Nation, as the *Spaniards* with execrable Barbarity maſſacred the *Indians*; or keep conſtantly an *armed Force* in the Country, ſuperior to the Natives, as the *Saracens* and our *Saxon* Forefathers did in their new acquired Provinces; or thirdly, you muſt *win the Hearts* of the vanquiſhed by *bettering their Condition*, which was the Method of the *Romans*. Without *one* of the three, nothing ſo ſlippery as a *new Conqueſt*; and all Hiſtories afford Inſtances of quick Ebbs and Flows of Fortune, of Kingdoms ſuddenly won and as ſuddenly loſt, for want of ſuch Precautions. With what Rapidity did CHARLES VIII. of *France* poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and a great part of Italy? and with what Facility was he expelled *? What amazing Progreſs made the late CHARLES XII. of *Sweden*, and how ſwift the Revolution after the Loſs of *one Battle* †? Whereas the *Romans* ſeldom loſt a Province that was once in their poſſeſſion; or if they did, as in the caſe of the *Parthian* Inroads into *Syria*, or the *Mithridatic* Incurſions into *Aſia* and *Greece*, they were generally recovered the very next Campaign. It is worth while to inquire into the *Reaſons* of this Difference.

FOR the firſt *two hundred Years* of the REPUBLIC the Romans, among their other Virtues, were inflexibly *JUST*. A private Crime was a Prodigy, and a public Iniquity, like Adultery at *Lacedemon*, was utterly unknown. Their *College of* HERALDS was an Inſtitution did honour to Mankind. It was *a Council of holy Men appointed to weigh the Grounds of any War, and to determine whether it could be entered upon* juſtly, *before it was decreed by the* Senate, *or commanded by the* People. It did more: It preſcribed the preciſe *Terms* on which it could be *equitably* and *fairly* declared, and ſent one of its own Members accoutred in all the Pomp of *ſacred Enſigns* to the State that was the Aggreſ-

 for,

* *He conquered all* Naples (*except* Brindiſi) *in fifteen Days, and loſt it within the Year.*

† PULTOWA in the *Ukraine*.

ſor, ſolemnly to demand *Reparation* of Injuries, and to denounce War, *only* in caſe of *Refuſal*. But JUSTICE, as it is the moſt *commanding*, is at the ſame time the moſt *winning* Virtue among Men. The very Opinion of it creates *Reverence*, and its Effects fail not to conciliate *Truſt*, the next Step to *Love*: For we cannot help honouring and ſecretly approving the Man who gives Sentence even *againſt* us, when we are once convinced he has done it according to JUSTICE. Where this Virtue preſides, there is hardly any other wanting. Among the Siſter-train of thoſe produced by the early Diſtreſſes of Rome, we mentioned *Faith* in Treaties, and *cordial Affection* to their *Allies*. Some of theſe they incorporated into the *City*, and made them wholly Romans; to others they gave particular Immunities and Privileges, as to the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*;—nor were they more jealous of their own Honour or Intereſt, than of that of the *Nations* or *Kings*, once admitted to courted Title of FRIENDS and ALLIES of the PEOPLE of ROME. Wherefore, ſays an ancient *Jewiſh* Record *, '*All the Kings and Nations that made* '*War againſt them, they deſtroyed and brought into Servitude*; *but* '*with their* Friends, *and thoſe* who put their Truſt in them, '*they kept Covenant. So that whomſoever they incline to aſſiſt*, '*that they ſhould* reign, *they* do reign; *and whomſoever they in-*'*cline to* dethrone, *they are dethroned:* and they were exalted '*exceedingly.*'

ALONG with this chief and indeed *ſole* Engine of genuine Power †, that, to uſe the ſame Stile, '*drew Nations with the* '*Cords of Love, and bound them with the Bands of a Man*;' their Humanity and Wiſdom led them to two other collateral Securities of their Conqueſts. The firſt was, their conſtantly befriending *Free-ſtates*, and *legal* Governments like their own: LIBERTY they cheriſhed where-ever they found it, and never failed.

* MAKKABAIΩN. A. Κεφ. ζ. § 11. 12. 13.

† Parum profici armis, ſi injuriae ſequantur.

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failed to reſtore it where it had been taken away: Many of their Expeditions were undertaken with no other Intent, than

To conquer Tyrants, and ſet Nations free:

And in the Nation ſo freed,—laid under the ineſtimable Obligation of Deliverance from the *laſt* and *worſt* of Curſes, the Yoke of a *Tyrant*; the Romans were always ſure of a faithfull zealous Ally: Nor will it be found, that they ever ſtript a *Free-ſtate* of its Privileges, without the higheſt Provocation and reiterated Perfidy. CARTHAGE and the ACHEAN-LEAGUE, both wanted to rival it with *Rome*; 'tis true, the Miſbehaviour of the latter was rather the Work of one audacious Villain; and therefore tho' the *League* was broke, and *Corinth* its Head razed, yet *Liberty* was ſoon reſtored to the ſeveral independent *States* that compoſed it. The Weight of this Obſervation will not be perceived, unleſs we recollect, that *all* GREECE, *Macedon* excepted, all the Coaſt of *Aſia* the *Leſs*, with the *Iſlands*, and the greater Part of both Sides the *Propontis*, and *Euxine*, that is, a great Part of the civilized World, had been, or then was full of *Free-ſtates* and *Common-wealths*. Many of theſe had been over-run by the Kings of *Macedon*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Pontus*, ALEXANDER's Succeſſors; and many had been enſlaved by their *own* wicked Citizens. Theſe it was the Roman Pride to deliver,—to *quell the purple Tyrant*, and re-inveſt the State with its native Liberty; and by ſo doing at once won the Hearts, and ſecured the Hands of the better, if not the moſt numerous, part of the human Race.

THE *other* Security of their Dominion was the humane and wholeſom Inſtitution of leading forth COLONIES from their *Metropolis*, and planting them in the moſt commodious Situations of the conquered Lands: Theſe were not only ſo many *faſt Holds* of the new Province, impervertible from their Allegiance to ROME; but bringing along with them their *Language*, *Manners* and *Laws*, diffuſed the Knowledge and Love of them

to the moſt diſtant Parts of the Empire. Theſe Settlements were not the *Convicts* and *Refuſe* of the Roman Rabble, tranſported by way of Puniſhment, tho' without doubt the poorer ſort made the Body of the new Plantation; but as it was likewiſe the poorer ſort that compoſed the Groſs of the Soldiery, the Colonies were at firſt an *entire veteran* LEGION at the Concluſion of a War, led into the moſt fertile Spot, for its faithful Services, with its *Tribunes*, *Centurions* and proper *Officers*, each in their former Stations, forming a little but high-ſpirited Republic among themſelves, and paſſing their eaſy Days with the ſame Companions, and under the ſame Commanders they had undergone Fatigues in their Youth, and often embraced after a Victory *. This beneficent manner of propagating their Laws and Power, was in the true Spirit of the *old Republic*. It was of equal ſtanding with the City; having been begun by *Romulus* its Founder, and the Number and Populouſneſs of ſuch Settlements made by their greateſt Chieftains being ever after reckoned among the prime Points of their Glory. And in effect, what can there be more glorious among Men, than to give Birth to a new State, enlarge Society, and diffuſe Liberty and Laws, *the firſt beſt Bleſſings of Mortality*, over the ſavage Parts of the Earth?

SHOULD any one, leſs acquainted with the *Roman* Management, inquire how theſe feeble Settlements were preſerved in a hoſtile Country, at ſuch immenſe Diſtances from Rome? Or what hindered them from being ſwallowed up by a Conſpiracy, like the Roman Colony planted among ourſelves, which was deſtroyed by the famed BOADICEA, while *Suetonius Paulinus*, the Roman Governor, had but turned his Back, and gone over to reduce the Iſle of MAN? I anſwer, that few Nations had the *Fierceneſs*

* Olim univerſae LEGIONES deducebantur cum Tribunis et Centurionibus, et ſui quiſque ordinis militibus, ut conſenſû et charitate REMP. facerent.
TACIT. Annal. Lib. XIV.

Fierceneſs of the ancient *, nor have the *ſteady Courage* of modern *Britons* †. *Once ſubdued and Slaves for ever*, was the Fate of the greater Part of Roman Vaſſals: But it was not ſo with BRITAIN; —beſides that it was never fully conquered; there not being the leaſt Veſtige of a *Roman* Camp beyond the *Grampian Ridge*, which beginning at the Mouth of the DEE, on whoſe delightful Bank ‡ I am now writing, runs acroſs *Scotland* to the famous Lake in the Weſt called *Lomond*, and leaves near one half of that Country to the North untouched by the *Romans*, except tranſient Depredations by their Fleet, while it firſt ſailed round the Iſland under *Agricola*.

BUT the great *Safeguard* of their Colonies, was a natural Conſequence of their growing Dominion. Their Frontier was generally in a State of War; which made it neceſſary to have a Body of Troops quartered in the utmoſt Province, both for its Defence, and for its Enlargement next Campaign. They were not diſperſed thro' the Towns to contract Sickneſs and Sloth; neither did they build Cittadels, to truſt to the Strength of their Works: But the Legions lay encamped in ſuch manner as they could march upon a very ſhort Warning to their mutual Succour; and theſe Camps were *temporary Cities*, with the advantage of ſevere Exerciſe and ſtrict Regularity. Their Neighbourhood was ſufficient Protection to the new Roman-Plantation, untill it gathered Strength to defend itſelf, and that the People about it were accuſtomed to Obedience, or became an inland Province inſtead of a Frontier. For that *matchleſs Militia* lying as a Guard upon the Extremities of the Empire, kept every thing quiet within their Circle, and, without being a Burden to the Burghers, or a Plague to the Peaſant, made a Revolt among ſo many ſubdued Nations next to a Miracle.

THUS

* Plus tamen Ferociae BRITANNI praeferunt (quam GALLI).
TACIT. Vita AGRIC.

† *C'etoit une Reſolution conſtante du ſage Roy* (CHARLES V.) *de ne point hazarder de grand Combat contre les ANGLOIS.* MEZERAY. Abr. Chr. p. 397.

‡ At PULMORE near *Aberdeen*.

THUS we have reviewed both the *interior Polity* of ancient ROME, and the *exterior Syſtem* of its Government: and by combining theſe with its *early Fortunes*, have naturally deduced the *Manners* of its Inhabitants, and of conſequence laid open the true Source of all its Grandeur and Conqueſts. For it is plain from what has been ſaid, that it could not be by *Numbers*, or mere *Force of Arms*, that the Romans foiled the mightieſt Nations; they did not over-run Countries by vaſt Incurſions, and o'erwhelm Provinces like an Inundation of *Goths* or *Vandals*. They were a *ſcanty* People in compariſon of many they ſubdued, and own'd themſelves in Strength of Body inferior to the *Gauls*, in Cunning to the *Carthaginians*, in Knowledge to the *Greeks*, and in Wealth to them all: But it was the *tranſcendant* VIRTUE of its Citizens, ſprung from Diſtreſs, and brightened by Attrition, that ſet the ſmall Colony of *Romulus* at the head of the World, and brought it homage from the moſt diſtant Climes. 'Twas *this* made ROME riſe dreadfull among the Nations, made her *Conſuls* trample upon the Necks of Kings, and her *Senators* ſit like Gods in Judgment!—'twas *this* made her Poverty triumph over Riches, and an Handful of Men prove too many for thouſands.

"DO NOT think, ſaid CATO to the Senate, (in the only "Speech that was ever preſerved * of that good Man) DO "NOT think that 'twas by *Force of Arms* that our Forefathers "raiſed this Republic from a low Condition to its preſent Great-"neſs: had it been ſo, we ſhould have it at the Top of hu-"man Grandeur by this Time: for we have more numerous "Armies, many more Allies, greater Magazines, and a Power of "Horſe and Arms beyond what they could pretend to.—No—"they were Things of a very different Nature that made our "Anceſtors

* *We owe it to* M. T. CICERO, *who invented the Elements of* a ſhort Hand, *and placed ſeveral Perſons inſtructed by him, in the different Corners of the Senate-houſe, to take the remarkable Speeches made in the* Catiline-buſineſs. Τοῦτον μόνον ὧν ΚΑΤΩΝ εἰπεῖν διασώζεσθαι φασὶ τὸν λόγον.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ. Κατῶν.

" Anceſtors ſo formidable;—Things that to our Shame we " know but little off,—*Induſtry* and *Diſcipline* at home, *Abſti-* " *nence* and *Juſtice* abroad, a diſintereſted *Spirit* in Counſel, un- " blinded by *Paſſion*, and unbiaſſed by *Pleaſure*." *

AND indeed, ſhould we go about to *deſcribe* the Roman MANNERS, and ſhew how high their Virtue roſe in their happieſt State, it would hardly find Credit among thoſe whoſe *Lives* are ſo different from *theirs*. For Words are too feeble to paint the *ſuperior Spirit* of theſe Patriots; ſo intenſe and yet ſo calm! ſo commanding and yet ſo obedient! whom no Dangers could deter, no Bribes corrupt, nor Pleaſures allure from a ſteady Purſuit of the PUBLIC GOOD. It muſt therefore be left to every one's own Obſervation to ſelect the Characters of the *Roman Heroes*, moſt ſuited to his own Taſte and Genius. But as we judge beſt of inviſible Cauſes by their viſible Effects; as we conceive a grand Idea of the divine Wiſdom and Power, from the ſtupendous Beauty, Order and Immenſity of the UNIVERSE; ſo to compare great Things with ſmall, (yet the *greateſt* ever atchieved upon Earth) let us remember, that about three hundred of theſe *Patriots* aſſembled in the CURIA or *Senate-houſe*, were the *SOUL* of the *Roman* Republic, that preſerved Order at home, and directed their foreign Conqueſts! To this let us join an amazing Thought—In the prodigious Space which their Empire embraced, (from *Euphrates* on the Eaſt, to the *Atlantic* on the Weſt, from the *Danube* and *Tanais* on the North, to the burning Deſarts of *Lybia* on the South) how many *oppreſſed* Nations delivered? how many *barbarous* Tribes civilized? how many *Deſarts* peopled, *Wilds* cultivated, *Cities* built, *public Works* raiſed? and above all, *Liberty* and *Laws*, *Juſtice* and *civil Policy* diffuſed thro' their immenſe Domain? For the ſeveral Kingdoms converted into *Provinces*, that were formerly harraſſing and tearing one another, by continual Wars, after they were

* CR. SALLUST. Bell. Catilin.

were conquered, and *embodied* into the Empire, came to enjoy a Tract of Peace at home, and of uninterrupted Commerce abroad, to which they had formerly been Strangers. So that *ITALY* would indeed ſeem to be the *Country*, and ancient ROME the *City* ſelected by HEAVEN, from whence to ſpread its Bleſſings upon Earth; — "to collect ſcattered, and temper "tyrannical Dominion; to humanize ſavage, and reconcile diſ- "cordant Nations; to bring People differing in Language, Cu- "ſtoms and Religion to a friendly Intercourſe, by the ſalutary "Tye of *Equity* and *Laws*; By *theſe* to embrace the moſt di- "ſtant Regions, ſpread *Humanity* among *Men*, and become in "a manner THE PARENT COUNTRY of the HUMAN RACE."

THIS is a *genuine*, and but a *general* Draught of the old REPUBLIC; — for to deſcend to Particulars would be endleſs: —It would be attempting to tell how the *Decii* devoted themſelves for ROME; how the *Curii* and *Camilli* (great in Poverty) governed, how the *Flaminii* and *Fabricii* conquered; what Deaths the *Scipios* died, what Lives their *Sons* lived, or drawing the Character of either CATO. It is enough for our Purpoſe to remember, that to *this* Government, and to *theſe* Manners, the *Romans* owed their Grandeur; and, which is ſtill more marvellous, ſuch was the *Force* of that Tract of *Temperance*, *Juſtice* and *Fortitude*, as to lay a Foundation of Power and Authority abroad, and of Decency and Order at home, which neither the Avarice of their after-Governors, nor the Lewdneſs of their private Lives, was able to deſtroy for five hundred Years. So true is the grand Leſſon, which of all Men it moſt imports PRINCES to learn, *That every thing ſtoops to* VIRTUE, the ſure and ſole Road to laſting Greatneſs; ſince it is now plain, that ſprung from the Cauſes, and nouriſhed by the Accidents we have deduced, *Temperance* and *Diſcipline*, *Juſtice* and *Humanity*, were the Founders and Supporters of the ROMAN COMMON-WEALTH.

BOOK

BOOK III.

AS it is the chief Aim of theſe MEMOIRS to mix Inſtruction with Amuſement, and to ſhew that *Liberty Virtue* and *true Grandeur* are indiſſolubly linked by Nature, I would aſk the Reader's Leave to turn his Eyes for a little from the *ſtable* Power and *permanent* Conqueſts of ancient *Rome*, to conſider in a modern Inſtance or two, how effectual *Fraud* ſupported by *Men* and *Money*, hath proved in the Hands of two mighty Kings to acquire Dominion, and make them what they wiſhed LORDS OF EUROPE. For among the pernicious Effects of *Prejudice*, and of that *Depravity* of Manners introduced alas! by Slavery into many formerly free States, a crooked Opinion prevails, that Trick and Cunning, (what we perverſely call *Politics*) if backed with Force, are ſufficient to aggrandize a Nation. I prefer *Inſtances* from HISTORY, eſpecially within our own Knowledge, as they are more ſtriking and perſuaſive than abſtract Arguments, and therefore fitter to expoſe the Fallacy of that half-witted Maxim; and to demonſtrate that *Fraud* and *Force* have juſt the ſame Influence on the Fortunes of a *State*, as on thoſe of a *private Man*; who may cozen, circumvene and perjure for a while, but infallibly loſes his Reputation in the Iſſue, and with it all Means of future Elevation.

THERE is little more than a Century and half paſſed, ſince the Empire of *Germany*, the Kingdom of *Spain*, the greater Part of *Italy*, all the *Low Countries*, and the vaſt Continent of *America*, were *united* in the Perſon of a Prince of great natural Parts, CHARLES V. Dazzled by the Splendor of ſo many

Crowns, and ſoothed by the Succeſs of his firſt Campaigns, he conceived the vaſt Deſign of conquering *Europe*, and erecting an univerſal Monarchy. But he happened to have to deal with a Set of contemporary Princes, whoſe Equals we have ſeldom ſeen living together at one Period. There was our HENRY VIII. (as brave in War, as pernicious in Peace), FRANCIS I. almoſt a *Knight errant* for Gallantry; and his good Ally, SOLYMAN the Magnificent; beſides many high-ſpirited Kings and Princes, too long here to enumerate. Wherefore, after many Trials of good and bad Fortune, finding the Conjuncture not favourable, the *Emperor* was rebuted, grew weary of *Buſtling* and *Buſineſs*; firſt reſigned the *Empire* to his Brother *Ferdinand*, and then his hereditary Dominions, *Spain*, *Italy*, the *low Countries* and *Indies* to his ſon *Philip*, with ſome wiſe and moderate Advice, which was no ſooner given than neglected.

FOR whether PHILIP II. was blown up by his People, already infected with the Notion, or had himſelf purpoſely inſtilled it, it is certain, that in the beginning of his Reign, eſpecially after the Battles of *St. Quintin* and *Lepanto*, the *Spaniards* talked of nothing but *Conqueſt* and *Empire* *. And it muſt be owned, if we coolly conſider their Advantages, it was not upon ſlight Grounds they did ſo. *Armed* with the ſpecious, tho' falſe Pretence of propagating the HOLY CATHOLIC RELIGION, they had all the *ſubſtantial* Parts of Power,—a brave veteran Army, trained by the Emperor CHARLES, that had gathered Laurels in many Climes;——an inexhauſted Treaſure flowing upon them from the lately diſcovered *Indies*, while their new-opened Mines were bleeding freſh and working eaſy;—a wide Dominion of wiſe and warlike People in *Europe* to ſupply the Waſte of Men; and by the Conjunction of the *German*, *Spaniſh* and *Italian*

* He took for his Device a fiery Steed, breaking thro' his Ring, with this equivocal Motto, NEC SUFFICIT ORBIS.

Italian Families, either in actual Poſſeſſion of, or laying Claim to moſt of the Kingdoms, which RELIGION did not intitle them to ſeize for their *Converſion*.

FRANCE, like an inſurmountable Bar, ſtood firſt in the Way: But moſt opportunely, and ordered, as it were on purpoſe, by propitious Heaven, the Race of the VALOIS failed; an iniquous but powerfull League was formed againſt the rightfull Succeſſor, which embroiled the Kingdom in Philip's darling Cauſe, a RELIGIOUS WAR, kept the Throne empty, and left the Crown at the Diſpoſal of Fortune, while the Spaniard had a formidable Army under a conſummate Captain * within a few days March of the Capital. To ENGLAND, always refractory, he laid a double Claim, firſt in right of his Wife, whoſe excluſive Succeſſion was abetted by all the Papiſts, then a great Body in this Iſland; and next, as being forfeited by the Uſurpation of an heretical and excommunicated Female, our great Queen *ELIZABETH*. IRELAND, as a Fief of the papal Crown, was obtained in a Gift from the Pope. The GERMAN EMPIRE was diſunited, its Members irreconcileable, its Head, PHILIP's Uncle, often diſtreſſed, and therefore preſumed willing to liſten to Propoſals of reſigning in his Nephew's favour: So happy was the Conjuncture! and ſuch Force was there to improve it in the Hand of a Nation famed for the Depth and Conſtancy of its Councils, and then at the Height of military Glory.

LET us now conſider how that Nation, with a ſubtile, cruel, and ſteady Prince at their Head, reputed the greateſt Politician of his Age, purſued the great Deſign of ſubduing *Europe*, and making MADRID, as they gave it out, the *Capital* of both Worlds.

FIRST of all it was found convenient, in order to advance their foreign Purpoſe, to make themſelves thoroughly abſolute

* ALEXANDER FARNESE Prince of *Parma*.

at home: and for that end they began with the *Moriſcos*, an induſtrious People deſcended from the Moors of *Granada*, and by the Advice of Prieſts *, (the chief Directors in the *Spaniſh* Counſels), forced them to a religious War; and in end diſpeopled *Spain*, (already weakened in planting *America*) by murdering and driving out near *one fifth* Part of theſe its moſt laborious Inhabitants. They next proceeded, under the ſame prieſtly Direction, to their faireſt hereditary *Poſſeſſions*, the *Low Countries*; whoſe Privileges they violated, inſulted their Perſons, obtruded the Inquiſition, and burdened them with Biſhops, untill they *drove them* likewiſe into a Rebellion: And after ſome Conceſſions (made againſt the Will of the Eccleſiaſtics) had appeaſed the People, and Things were tolerably quiet, by a freſh Courſe of Inſult, Revenge and Murder †, they inflamed it higher than ever: The Effect of this inhuman Conduct was *anſwerable*: It raiſed ſuch a Spirit in theſe populous Provinces, imprinted ſuch Horror and Hatred of the *Spaniſh* Government on the Minds of the Inhabitants, as employed their mightieſt Armies for threeſcore Years to tame it; at the end of which they found themſelves farther from their Purpoſe than when they began.

NOTHING could be more weak or prepoſterous than this Procedure. To invite Foreigners to ſubmit to their Dominion, the firſt

* In 1566 a Proclamation was made, commanding the *Moriſcos* to quite their Language, Habit, Manners and Religion: They came to Court to remonſtrate. *Reſpondi el Rey*; importava la Execucion de la Prematica, *aſſiſtido del Cardenal de* ESPINOSA, *deſeſtimador y reſoluto en lo que no era de ſu Profeſſion* ‡. The *Moors* were twice expelled: firſt in 1570 by PHILIP II. when 310,000 Perſons were murdered and baniſhed: then in 1610 by PHILIP III. when the Loſs of 120,000 more, left SPAIN almoſt a Deſart.

‡ Don. Lor. Vander Hammen y Leon.

† Ferdinand of Toledo, the fierce Duke of Alva, boaſted that he had in the ſix Years of his Government put 18,000 Perſons to death by the Hands of the Executioner, and found out a new *Indies* by Confiſcations, to the Amount of ſeveral Millions of Gold.

firſt Thing they choſe to convince them of was, that their Laws and Conſtitutions were Cobwebs,—that their Perſons and Poſſeſſions were precarious; and by a Strain of Policy *almoſt* modern, that their *Conſciences* too muſt be new-modelled; and to have a Belief of Things inviſible different from their Sovereigns, muſt ſubject them—*to be burnt alive*. Could other Nations expect better Conditions than their ancient faithfull Subjects, the Natives of the Low Countries? The very Men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in CHARLES V.'s Wars, and to whoſe Bravery and Conduct *Philip* himſelf owed the moſt glorious Victory that graced his Reign? To bring the generous and martial *Lamoral*, Count *Egmont*, and the noble *Philip Monmorancy* Count *Horn*, after a Life of faithfull Services, and the Merit of the Day of *St. Quintin*, that in a manner eſtabliſhed the Spaniſh Monarchy, to bring *theſe* great Men, Idols of the People, to loſe their Heads on a Scaffold, was a Piece of genuine fooliſh Tyranny.

WHEN *theſe*, and other *ſuch* Doings were once publiſhed thro' *Europe*, there remained nothing but *main Force* by which they could hope for Conqueſt. No voluntary Submiſſions were to be expected, no willing Subjection to *ſuch* Maſters,—no good Wiſhes of Succeſs, nor Confidence from any that valued their own Eſtate, or knew *them* and the *Tenor* of their Government. It was plainly holding up a *Scourge* by way of *Decoy*: and the Conſequences correſponded very exactly. There was no ſort of Miſery or Hardſhip which the Inhabitants of the Provinces choſe not to undergo, and did not actually undergo, rather than bend to the *Spaniſh* Yoke: To their immortal honour they maintained an obſtinate and mercileſs War, with amazing Spirit; fighting without Pay, and defending their Towns, tho' preſſed by Famine within, and a more dreadfull Plague (*fell Tyranny*) without, to the laſt Extremity. But by this ruinous War, carried on at an immenſe Expence, and far from the Heart of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, the Groſs of their Treaſure

Treaſure was drained. The reſt, an incredible Sum *, went to ſucceſsleſs Attempts upon *England* and *Ireland*; and a great Part of it to ſupport the infamous League, and foment the civil War in *France*. In the mean time, INDUSTRY, the vital Principle of a State, languiſhed at home.—Nothing but waſte of Men, and Profuſion of Wealth abroad;—Victories, when gained at the Price of much Blood, afforded little Profit,—while Defeats were fatal, and ſcarce to be repaired: So that in the Space of one hundred and thirty Years, the Spaniſh Monarchy, that had ſet out with ſuch threatning Appearance, came to be bounded by its ancient *Mountains*; ſtript of *Italy* and *Sicily*,—firſt hemmed in, and afterwards driven quite out of the *Netherlands*,—and, which was hard to bear, attacked and diſpoſſeſſed of a great part of the *Indies*; and harder ſtill, that the ſtrongeſt *Fort*, and fineſt *Harbour* belonging to Spain, ſhould be now in the Poſſeſſion of a noble NATION, whom their invincible *Armada* † was to have made a tributary Province.

MUCH about the Time that *Spain* was brought to the brink of Ruin, by graſping at univerſal Dominion, the Kingdom of *France* her Neighbour, elated with a Train of Succeſſes, took up the perilous Project. That ancient Monarchy, in a long courſe of Years, having ſwallowed up all the little Principalities around it, and being at laſt delivered from its own civil Wars, had riſen to a very high Pitch of Proſperity. The Extent of the Country, the Induſtry and Ingenuity of the Inhabitants, had in two happy Reigns ſo ſwelled her Forces, and increaſed her Revenue, that ſhe became at once the Envy and Terror of all the bordering Nations. FRANCE had rather more *numerous* Armies than *Spain* had formerly, and was far ſuperior in *Cavalry*,—

* See below Note **, Page 125. and RELAZIONE del Signore, F. SORANZO alla ſereniſſima Signoria di VENEZIA.

† It had been equipping for *ſeven* Years, and coſt PHILIP a Million *ſterl. per annum*, or, as he ſays himſelf, 20,000,000 Ducats.

ry,—was much more compact in her Dominion, and ſupplied in ſome meaſure the want of foreign Treaſure by a *military Spirit*, that made the Gentry found their Character upon fighting, and ſerve on their own Charges; a ſtrange loyal Phrenzy was artfully propagated thro' all Ranks, while the Produce and Manufactures of the Country were in truth a prodigious Fund, both of Money and warlike Stores.

As for the Poſture of Affairs *abroad*, it partly was of itſelf, and partly was ſoon rendered very favourable. Of the *three* European Powers able to thwart the French Deſigns, *Spain*, *Germany* and *Great Britain*, the firſt had diſabled itſelf; its Spirit was broke,—its Revenue run out,—its Provinces drained,—its Grandees conceited and contemptible, and under a Succeſſion of weak bigotted Princes, had loſt all Order within itſelf, and on all theſe accounts was capable of making but a feeble Reſiſtance. *Italy* was terrified or bribed into a Compliance with the *French* Councils. The *Pope* inſulted, *Genoa* bombarded, *Sicily* ſeized on *, and the *Great Duke*, and moſt of the *Italian* Princes had Penſions from the *liberal* LEWIS.

THE *NORTHERN* Powers were plied with *French* Emiſſaries, and dealt with in the ſame manner. The poorer Kingdoms openly took the Money; and the *then* King of *Britain*, contrary to the Senſe of the Nation, upon low Conſiderations (to be for ever buried in Oblivion by her Sons) was brought to take part in the unworthy Deſign: But the grand Game lay in the *Empire*; and artfully was it play'd: The moſt independant Princes had their ſeveral Baits propoſed, which the Elector of *Cologn*, the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and ſome others greedily ſwallowed; while the HEAD of it, not very formidable of himſelf, had the *Turk* upon his Hands; or was embroiled in his *hereditary* Countries with *French-fomented* Revolts.

EVERY

* Steps taken at different Times, are here thrown together, as all tending to *one* Point.

EVERY thing thus prepared, the UNITED PROVINCES, as a free and therefore intractable State, were to feel the Weight of the *French* Power, and fall the firſt Sacrifice to the Ambition of the aſpiring Monarch. In the Beginning the Succeſs anſwerable to his Expectations: The *Dutch* Miniſters, tho' great and able Men, had not been ſufficiently carefull of their *Frontier*; they had truſted to their *Wealth* and *Marine*, then in its Meridian;—and at the worſt, could never bring themſelves to believe, that BRITAIN would be ſo blind to its neareſt Intereſts, as to be a Spectator, and far leſs an Actor in their Ruin. LEWIS, encompaſſed with infinite Numbers, covered the Face of the Country, like one of the old Irruptions of the barbarous Nations. There was no Force to oppoſe him: Town after Town fell into his Hands, as ſoon as he or his Generals could ſummon them to ſurrender; hardly three or four ſtrong Places waited till the Trenches were opened.—He over-ran four Provinces without a Check, untill their Situation, and the Command of their *Sluices* rather than their *Swords*, made him halt in the Career of Victory.

DURING his Stay at a Town in the Heart of the Country, while aſtoniſhed at the Rapidity of his own Conqueſts, there were *two* Advices offered to his Deliberation: One, *to moderate his Proſperity, impoſe eaſy Terms, and ſhew the World he could end a War with more Honour than he had begun it.* The other, *to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of all he had got, and make high Demands for the future.* It was urged for the *firſt*, that it would look like a *great King* to reſtore the Towns he had taken,—to leave them the Exerciſe of their Religion, and Enjoyment of their Liberties; and only *invite* them to a Protection, which they had now Proof would be both gentle and powerfull; at the ſame time offering them an *Equivalent* for two or three Frontier-places, that gave ready Entrance into a bordering Country, the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. By this means, it was ſaid, 'his Opportunities would be kept en-'tire, his Reputation raiſed higher, more real Weight added to

'his

'his Arms and Glory to his Name, than the preſent Conqueſt 'was worth; beſides the Dependance and Truſt of what he ſo 'much wanted, a *maritime* Ally ſecured to his After-deſigns.'

BUT happily for his Neighbours, the KING was not a Man applicable to ſuch generous Meaſures: Haughty and little-minded, he liſtened with pleaſure to the contrary Counſel: 'To 'keep all he had conquered; to compel them to ſet up *his* 'Religion in the chief Cities; — to require abſolute Dependen-'cy, and annual Marks of their Subjection publickly paid in his 'Capital: Or if theſe Terms were rejected, to denounce inceſ-'ſant War.'

THE Iſſue of this Advice is known to all *Europe:* the remaining Provinces (by far the moſt powerfull of the ſeven) having a little recovered from their firſt Amazement, could think no Taxes exorbitant, nor Toils grievous, ſo they might eſcape the Hands of ſuch an oppreſſive Invader. They made a noble Stand: and under the Conduct of a young, but ſteady and undaunted Prince *, kept bravely up the cruel Conteſt, untill the other European Powers opened their Eyes upon the *tyrannical Plan*, and began to form themſelves into a League againſt the common Oppreſſor.

To provide againſt this UNION, the encroaching King wiſhed for, and by a bold Step obtained a temporary Peace. He improved it in ſeizing on the petty Principalities adjacent to *France*, in forming far fetch'd Pretenſions on the great ones; in amaſſing Treaſure, founding Cannon, furniſhing his Storehouſes, equipping Fleets, and as PHILIP II. had done before him, in humbling his Nobility, oppreſſing his Parliaments, and driving one hundred thouſand of his beſt Subjects out of the Kingdom by the *barbarous Dragonade*. When all was ready, he again threw off the Maſque; trampled upon Treaties, ſet Juſtice and the Law of Nations at nought, and ſent his Armies

* *WILLIAM OF NASSAU*, Prince of ORANGE.

into *Italy*, *Germany* and *Spain*, TO CONQUER; — but as formerly, bent his chief Force againſt the *Low Countries*. I am not to give a Detail of Things notorious; as making only an Obſervation, not writing an Hiſtory. His Generals had preciſely the ſame Fate with theſe ſent out by his Pattern PHILIP upon the ſame Errand, and in the ſame Country, an hundred Years before.

AT firſt they were frequently ſucceſsfull, as having fallen upon their Neighbours at unawares, while, relying upon the Faith of Treaties, ſolemnly ſworn by the *moſt Chriſtian* King, they were ſecure and unprepared. By that perfidious Surprize they took many Towns ill-fortified and worſe garriſoned, and gained eaſy Victories over raw Bodies of Troops, haſtily aſſembled to oppoſe them: this eſpecially happened while the French were conducted by the old experienced Captains, the Prince of *Condé*, the Marechal *Turenne*, the cunning and cruel *Luxembourg*, and the great and good *Schomberg*: But no ſooner were theſe able Commanders either dead or diſgraced *, and the injured Nations rouzed from their Security, than a Hatred of the Monarch's Pride, and Deteſtation of his Perfidy, grew univerſal. He found no more *eaſy* Conqueſts: the Tide of Fortune turned; the League for Liberty was formed; the ſuperior Spirit of GREAT BRITAIN prevailed: *LEWIS* was forced to regorge his ill-got Acquiſitions,— the faireſt of them, NAMUR, intended to eternize his Name, and boaſted to be now impregnable †, was raviſhed from him almoſt before his Eyes,—*Mons*, *Ramillies*, and *Blenhim* enſued, theſe memorable Days in the Annals

* Marechal SCHOMBERG having reſolutely refuſed to abjure his Religion, when the Perſecution was raiſed againſt the Proteſtants in *France*, was commanded to leave the Kingdom; which had been preceeded by the Farce of *M. Turenne's* Converſion, and was followed by *M. Peliſſon's* Apoſtleſhip, whoſe Ambition was ſuperior to their Piety.

† See BOILEAU's ODE on the taking of *Namur*. The famous BUSSY (Rabutin) ſays he gives the Detail of the Siege, as the *greateſt* and moſt *arduous* that Lewis XIV ever had undertaken, or ever would undertake.

Hiſt. de LOUIS le GRAND. Anno 1692.

Annals of *Europe*; and the once haughty Monarch, diſtreſſed in his Turn by Force of Arms, and in want of Money for his own daily Suſtenance, was forced to renounce his Uſurpations, and humbly ſue for Peace to the People he had oppreſſed.

AND here no *Friend* to LIBERTY and BRITAIN can help mixing Grief with Indignation, that all the Fruit of theſe glorious Victories; the Labour of ſo many Years,—the Price of ſo much Blood and Treaſure,—the joint Effort of *Europe* to pull down a faithleſs Invader, ſhould have been all ſacrificed by a Faction amongſt ourſelves! That when, after a fierce but glorious Struggle, we had our Foot upon the Neck of the Dragon, the precious Opportunity of confining him diſarmed to his ancient Den, ſhould have been baſely betrayed.—That the future Peace of *Europe*, the Quiet of *Great Britain*, and Security from her moſt inveterate Enemy, ſhould have been ſacrificed by a Party that had diſplaced the upright *Godolphin*, and diſgraced the glorious *Marlborough!* May their Memories periſh from the Earth, who could thus forego the grand Intereſts of their Country, for paultry ones of their own.—Or if they be remembered, may it be as Betrayers of the Cauſe of Mankind, and Authors of all the Hardſhips that *Britain* has undergone ſince the UTRECHT-PEACE!

BUT let us turn our Eyes, indignant, from the unhappy End of this glorious and ſucceſsfull War, and view both theſe Sovereigns, PHILIP II. of *Spain*, and LEWIS XIV. of *France*, in the End of their Reigns, and conſider what *Fruits* they reaped from their Attempts upon the Liberties of *Europe*. They had both been ſucceſsfull in their Youth,—ſaw themſelves at the Head of mighty Kingdoms, formed vaſt Deſigns, waſted immenſe Wealth, baniſhed, murdered, and ſacrificed many Millions of their Subjects, and having *ſtood at nothing* to obtain their Ends, found themſelves in old Age farther from them than when they firſt ſet out. How did this happen, and by what ſecret Fate were they conducted to ſo ſimilar an Exit? By the admirable Order

of Nature; by the eternal Tye between Grandeur and Beneficence: Both of them gave into *narrow* and *violent* Meaſures, ——both thought FORCE the only Way of making Conqueſts, and CRUELTY of keeping them.——Both deſpiſed the *Rights of Mankind*, and trampled upon the *ſacred Laws of Humanity* *.—Both were bigotted to their Religion, and wanted to play the Tyrant over Mens Conſciences, as well as their Perſons and Eſtates.—Theſe were inſurmountable Obſtacles to their Proſperity; as was alſo, that both ſtay'd at home, and truſted the Conduct of their Armies to others. In vain had *Philip*'s Father repreſented to him the Folly of Deſigns of univerſal Empire; and in vain had *Lewis*'s Preceptor early inculcated the Neceſſity of a great Prince's taking the Field in Perſon, and the leading of his own Armies. The firſt imagined he could conquer the World by *dictating Diſpatches*, while he walked in his fine Gardens at *Segovia*; and the latter, after declaring he was to *command in Perſon*, conducted his Army to the Enemy's Frontier,—viſited them after a Victory, or made the Tour of the Trenches at a Siege, and then—retired with his Ladies to *Marli* or *St. Cyr*. In this Way both theſe Princes attained to a great Age, firſt dreaded, then hated, and at laſt deſpiſed by their Subjects and Neighbours; and each for a Recompence of his Conduct, like an old Wolf gone forth to raven, and hardly eſcaped from amidſt Toiles and Spears, had time to lick his Wounds, and die with the Character of *Tyrant* ſtamped on his Memory.

PHILIP II. had been bred up in view of his Father CHARLES V.'s Wars, whoſe Conduct and Courage made him for the

* *Eſt quidem vero* LEX, recta ratio, naturae congruens, *diffuſa in omneis, conſtans, ſempiterna, quae vocet ad officium jubendo, vetando a fraude deterreat.*—*Huic legi neque abrogari fas, neque derogare ex hâc aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari poteſt: Nec erit alia* Romae, *alia* Athenis; *alia* nunc, *alia* poſthac; *ſed et omnes gentes et omni tempore* UNA LEX *et* ſempiterna *et* immortalis *continebit; cui qui non parebit* ipſe ſe *fugiet ac* NATURAM HOMINIS *aſpernabitur; atque* hoc ipſo *luet maximas poenas, etſiamſi caetera ſupplicia quae putantur effugerit.*

M. T. CICERO. apud LACTANT. Lib. VI. § 8.

the moſt part *fortunate:* He knew too well the *bloody atrocious* Method of the MEXICAN CONQUEST *: He had been unhappily ſucceſsfull againſt a part of his own Subjects, whom he expelled by Force; and had gained a glorious Victory over the *French* ſoon after his Acceſſion to the Throne. Such a Train of unchecked Succeſs, might lead a haughty Prince poſſeſſed of vaſt Power, and of no Bowels neither to his Family † nor Favourites ‡, to the unhappy Opinion, *That Violence is the Road to Empire* **: But the more modern Conqueror, as he was by no means

* Daremos por cuenta muy cierta y verdadera, que ſon muertas en los dichos quarenta años por las dichas Tiranias & ynfernales Obras de los Chriſtianos, ynjuſta y tiranicamente mas de *doze cuentos* de Animas, hom res mugeres y niños; y en verdad que creo ſin penſar engañarme, que ſon mas de *quinze cuentos.*

BARTHOL. de las CASSAS, o CASAUS Relac. de la Deſtruycion de las YNDIAS. A Book *I would recommend to their Peruſal who want to be informed of the moſt* horrid Deeds ever perpetrated by human Nature. Fifteen Millions *of their own Species barbarouſly maſſacred in the ſpace of forty Years* in America, *and by* PHILIP's *own Confeſſion, other* five Millions *of Men put to death in* Europe!

† He put his only Son and Heir apparent DON CARLOS to a cruel Death, and poiſoned his good Queen *Eliſabeth* (it was ſaid with his *own* Hand) when big with Child.

‡ A young Nobleman of a great Family had incurred his Diſpleaſure, whom he did not chuſe to puniſh openly; but commanded his Secretary and *Privado*, Don ANTONIO PEREZ, to make away with him privily: For which Aſſaſſination, committed by his expreſs Order, he permitted this unhappy Gentleman, after a long Impriſonment, to be twice put *to the Torture*, and then baniſhed from *Spain*. His LETTERS, writ with great Spirit and Strength, will be a laſting Monument of the Cruelty and Ingratitude of his hard-hearted Maſter.

CARTAS de ANTONIO PEREZ. En PARIS. Sin-anno.

** Leſt Inattention to the Courſe of this King's bloody Reign ſhould miſlead any one who has read his Encomiums in *Spaniſh* or *Jeſuit* Writers, it will not be improper to adduce a Part of a very curious Piece, his laſt *Advice* and *Inſtructions* to his Succeſſor PHILIP III. in which he confeſſes firſt his *Father's* Deſigns of univerſal Monarchy, and then his *own*.

APRES avoir envié l'Empire a mon Oncle FERDINAND,—fait vainement toutes ſortes de Pratiques et Menées, pour obtenir de lui, qu' à l'exemple de l'Empereur

means a Man of ſuch Depth, took rather his Opinions from his Miniſters, and the fawning Crew of Court-writers, who upon his firſt Victories flattered him into a firm Belief, that nothing could reſiſt him. They called him, the *immortal Man*, the *King of Kings* *, the *mighty Lewis*, the *Arbiter of Chriſtendom*, whoſe *ſuperior Star denounced that the* Flower de Luce † *which came from Heaven*,

l'Empereur mon Pere, il me voulût faire nommer ROY DES ROMAINS, au lieu de *Maximilian* ſon fils——aſpiré à me faire declarer EMPEREUR DU NOUVEAU MONDE,——à m'approprier l'*Italie*,——à dompter mes ſujets rebelles des *Païs-bat*, ——à me faire-dire Roy d'*Irlande*,——à conquerir l'*Angleterre* par le moyen de la plus grande et formidable *Armée navale* qui ait quaſi jamais eté veuë; en la compoſition de laquelle, J'ai employé *plus* de ſix Ans continuels, et depensé plus de *vingt millions* de Ducats——et à faire le ſemblable du Royaume de *France*, par le moyen de mes *Intelligences* (achetées bien cherement) avec les plus grands et ambitieux Eſprits d'icelui, fondez ſur la faineantiſe du Roi lors regnant, et des Differends allumez pour la Religion que J'avois ſuſcitez par le moyen des *Eccleſiaſtiques* mes Penſionaires——et avoir en tous ces deſſeins emploié *trente deux Années* de mon Age——conſumé plus de SIX CENS MILLIONS DE DUCATS, en depenſes extraordinaires, qui ont paſsé par ma connoiſſance particuliere, et dont vous trouverez les etâts écrits de ma Main en mon Cabinet ſecret——eté la cauſe du Meurtre où de l'Occiſion, de plus de VINGT MILLIONS d'Hommes; et de la deſtruction et depopulation de plus de Provinces, et d'*Etenduë de Païs*, que Je n'en poſſede en l'EUROPE, Je me trouve n'avoir rien remporté de tant de magnifiques deſſeins, depenſes, fatigues et ruïnes, que le ſeul *petit Royaume de* PORTUGAL: —— Celui d'*Irlande* m'etant echappé par le peu de Foy qu'il y a en ces *Sauvages*, l'Inacceſſibilité de cette Iſle, et l'ennuyeuſe Demeure d'icelle; celui d'*Angleterre* par un furieux coup de Vent; et celui de *France* par la Legereté naturelle des FRANCOIS, l'Incompatibilité de cette Nation avec toutes les autres, et l'admirable Vertue et Fortune du *nouveau Roy*, (avec lequel J'ai à cette occaſion voulû vous laiſſer en Paix; —— *l'Allemagne* par les Jalouſies de mes propres Parens; et LE TOUT en general, par la volonté abſoluë de DIEU, qui en avoit ordonné autrement.

INSTRUCTIONS du Roy d'ESPAGNE à ſon FILS.
Voyez MEMOIRES du SULLY, TOME II. Ch. 86.

* C'eſt a vous, *Sire!* que convient parfaitement le bel Eloge de ROI-ROI: car s'il y eût jamais un ROI-ROI, c'eſt à dire un *Maitre-Roi*, doué de toutes les qualitez royales, toute l'Europe avouë que c'eſt VOUS.

AMELOT *de la Houſſaie.* Homme de Cour.

† L'Etoile de nôtre grand Monarque promet a *la France* une FORTUNE CONQUERANTE: et Je ne ſais quelle Inſpiration me dit, *Que les* LIS *qui viennent du Ciel fleuriront un jour par toute la Terre.*

BOUHOURS Entretiens d'Ar. et de Eug.

Heaven, ſhould one Day flouriſh over all the Earth. This made him graſp at every Handle of enlarging his Dominion, form Pretenſion after Pretenſion, and never conſider too ſcrupulouſly the Means of a new Acquiſition, ſo it was but made ſure.

YET it is univerſally allowed, (the moſt *profligate* of Politicians not excepted *) that the APPEARANCES at leaſt of Mildneſs and Generoſity; but above all, of public Faith and Honour in Treaties, are abſolutely neceſſary for making Conqueſts: Which if true, the *Things themſelves* are infinitely more ſo: For theſe *Appearances* can never be long kept up without the *Realities* †. They may ſerve for a ſmall Turn, as in oppreſſing a little State, or ruining a ſingle Town; *ſuch* Doings as the *Florentine Secretary* had before his Eyes, when forming his ſhort-ſighted Maxims; but are infallibly unmaſked in Deſigns of any Duration; and then comes the heavy Retribution: For when, inſtead of Moderation and Mercy, an *inſupportable Pride*, an *inſatiable Avarice* and *inhuman Cruelty*, appear in the Meaſures of a Nation, that is, when once they imagine they are above *Right* and *Wrong*, that they may *do any thing*, and that the unalterable eternal Meaſures of JUSTICE and HUMANITY are no longer *Rules for them*; that Perſon or People, how great and powerfull ſoever they may be otherwiſe, are ſure to loſe the good Opinion of Mankind, and can never conquer throughly, nor rule ſecurely, becauſe never truſted, nor cordially aſſiſted by any other.

MEN *are bound by* BENEFITS: Honours and Wealth beſtowed on the *Worthieſt*, and Reſpect and Kindneſs ſhewn to the whole People:

* NIC. MACCHIAVELLI. *Il PRINCIPE.*

† *Vulgar* agravio *es de la* POLITICA, *el confundirla con la* Aſtucia. *Tienen algunos por mas Sabio al que mas bien ſupo* fingir, diſſimular, engañar: *no advirtiendo que el caſtigo de las tales fue ſiempre* perecer en el Engaño.

LORENZO GRACIAN.

People: This makes them *exert* themſelves, to ſupport or raiſe the Nation or Prince under whom they enjoy theſe Bleſſings; and *this* was the happy Method practiſed by the Heroes, who made the moſt laſting Conqueſts. When they got the better of any State, they endeavoured to make their Condition rather eaſier than it was before. They ſcreened their Perſons and Families from Inſults, and ſecured their Properties from rapacious Hands: they let them enjoy all their Privileges conſiſtent with their own Superiority; and frequently choſe to *part* with a little part of it, rather than provoke them to caſt it off and *rebell*. In a Generation or two, the *Spirit* of the governing People prevailed; and they could with more Safety demand, or perhaps voluntarily received the Subjection and Obedience they aimed at from the beginning.

IT was upon ſuch Grounds as *theſe*, that I ventured to aſſert the Stability of the *Roman* Conqueſts was owing to their MANNERS and VIRTUE: and the Miſcarriages of two great Kings, notwithſtanding their Fraud, their Armies, their Treaſures, to their VICES;—to their Pride, their Cruelty, their forgetting they were Men, and that the Good of Mankind is the ſole legitimate End of Conqueſt and Government.

THE more *diſagreeable*, tho' not the leaſt inſtructive Part of our Taſk remains; to view the ROMAN EMPIRE in its *declining* State; to conſider the *Cauſes* of its Reverſe of Fortune, and give ſome Account how things went immediately before *AUGUSTUS*'s Appearance in the World. The Recital of Misfortunes, it is true, gives Pain; but to look into their *Origin*, and diſcover the *Errors* that led to them, has the proper Mixture of Pleaſure and Uſe, which is allowed to recommend a Subject.

To diſcover the *true* Cauſes of the Decay of the *Roman* State, it may not be amiſs to follow the *Tract* we were in, when ſearching

ſearching for the Reaſons of their Growth; and as formerly we found the Cauſes of their Proſperity in the admirable *Compoſition* of their State, and their *early Fortunes*, it will be proper now to enquire, '*Whether any* Flaw *in the one*, and Change *in* '*the* other, *contributed to their Corruption and Downfall?*'

WHAT Motives ſoever they be, upon which Men aſſemble, and form theſe great Societies we call *States*, none of them ſtand or flouriſh long, without *two Parties* forming, and naturally making a Separation among the Inhabitants. Men who are eaſy in their Circumſtances, and have been bred up in Affluence, naturally acquire a liking to *Magnificence* and *Splendor*: Freedom from Reſtraint gives them an Openneſs and Honeſty in their Dealings, and a genteel manner of ſpeaking and acting, which comes to be called *good Breeding*. As they grow older, if they have eaſy Acceſs to Honours, and a Title to Diſtinction and Preference, they know the Value of their Condition, love the Conſtitution by which they hold it, and readily herd with the Men of the ſame *Qualities* and *Manners*. They join Meaſures for the common Intereſt; and by their frequent Meetings, eaſily fall into the Form of a *Faction*, called in *Rome* the OPTIMATES, or Party of the NOBILITY.

ON the contrary, the poor People in a Town, who are always the moſt numerous, are put upon many low Shifts for their Livelihood: Theſe Shifts by Example and Practice, grow *habitual*, and make them inſenſible of Reputation or Shame; they loſe thoſe Feelings of the Beauty or Baſeneſs of Actions, which are the ſtrongeſt Curbs to Vice, and Incentives to the Practice of Virtue in generous Natures: When theſe are once ſmothered, Men are capable of every Meanneſs; the moſt paultry Intereſt ſways them, and the Diſorder and Rudeneſs of their Education, finiſhes the Character of the *Mob* or *Vulgar* *. Theſe

* We have a curious Proof of this Aſſertion in our own Language, where the Terms we commonly employ to expreſs the moſt vitious Nature, *Knave* and *Villain*, are taken from nothing but low Life, and ſignified at firſt (and even not very long ago) only *Servant* and *Villager*.

all the World over envy and hate the better ſort, and are contemned and often ill uſed by them in return. But it is in free States, where they mix in Government, and get a little Taſte of Power, that the Humour is ſeen in perfection: They rejoice when they can humble a *Gentleman*, and purſue his Ruin with all the Fury and Ingratitude that can be expected from an indigent and violent Multitude, got into Power, and encouraging one another. *

Of *themſelves* however, they are ſeldom able to produce great Changes, or overturn an ancient Eſtabliſhment: They often commit horrid Violences upon ſome particular Perſon, or Order of Men, that happens to be the Butt of their Fury: But when a Man of Reach and Intrepidity turns their Leader, works up and directs the Storm when and where to break, it then changes the Face of things, and works laſting Alterations. It is indeed an exceeding unhappy Conjuncture, when a Deſign upon the Liberties of a Nation, meets with a Ferment among the People. For, on the other hand, without ſuch Commotions, the ambitious Purpoſes of private Men are rarely brought to bear: But when they are grafted into ſome *great Party* in the State, which has the Command of a *popular Humour* to ſerve as a Cause †, they ſeldom fail to embroil the Public, and to do abundance of Miſchief.

It is therefore a Point of the laſt Importance to fix the Limits of Power, and aſcertain the Juriſdiction of theſe Parties who are thus ſet at odds by *Nature*, and maintain the oldeſt and moſt irreconcileable Quarrel among Men. They have, at times, diſmal Effects even in Monarchies; but in a free State, if the partial Conſtitution lean to either ſide, it will ſooner or later be improved, the Balance deſtroyed, the State involved in Confuſion, and fall under a Tyrant in the Iſſue. And *this* I take to have been the *original Blemiſh* in the *Roman* Republic: The Powers of the

* *Wat. Tyler*, *Maſſanello*, *C. Marius*, *John of Leyden*, &c.

† Duke of *Guiſe* and the League.

the SENATE and the PEOPLE were in a manner blended together; their Boundaries were not ſufficiently ſettled; nor the Spheres in which theſe two great Bodies ſhould move diſtinctly marked out.

IT appears from the foregoing PLAN, that without a perfect Underſtanding between the *Senate* and the *People*, no Peace could be properly made, nor War wiſely undertaken. Neither was there any Remedy from the *Conſtitution*, in caſe they diſagreed, but the dangerous one of creating a *Dictator*; ſo that both Parties, when met in the *Forum*, were often obliged to have recourſe to Force, (the Diſſolution of all Government) to make good their *Reſolves*. Thus in the Time of the War with JUGURTHA the *Numidian* Prince, when the *Senate* had decreed that Province to the noble *Metellus*, the *People*, at the Inſtance of one of their favourite Tribunes, *Manlius Mantinus*, in a full Aſſembly voted C. MARIUS their General. They were then in a high Rage againſt the Nobility; and the *Senate*, for fear of worſe, were contented to *drop* their Commiſſion, and permit *Marius* to undertake the War. This Defect in their Conſtitution, like a ſecret Poiſon in a wholeſome Body, lay lurking a long time, while great Exerciſe abroad and Temperance at home preſerved its Vigour: But no ſooner was it pampered with Eaſe and Luxury, than the Diſtemper appeared in all its Virulence, infected the neighbouring Parts, and in end brought Death and abſolute Dominion.

'TWAS firſt in the Intervals of their Wars that it began to ſhew itſelf. The Commons, who bore the greateſt Burden, had then time to look about them, and conſider their own Condition; they grew envious of courſe, and began firſt to complain and cabal, then gathered into a Party, and made Sedition after Sedition. It would be needleſs to relate the Accidents that occaſioned, or the Negotiations that paſſed between the Parties during theſe Struggles; the Iſſue of the chief of them was *the Creation of a new and independent Magiſtrate, ſacred in his Perſon, and controullable by none in the Exerciſe of his Power, but thoſe of*

his own Character and Dignity; tho' he had a NEGATIVE *upon all the reſt, the* Conſuls *themſelves not excepted.* They called them TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE, for whoſe Protection from the Oppreſſion of the Nobility they were ſolely intended, and for that Purpoſe had the Power of *ſtopping* any Act, tho' afterwards they meddled with very different Matters. Their Office alone of all the reſt, did not fall upon the Election of a *Dictator*; but was the ſecond in Power while he was preſent, and in his Abſence the *only civil Magiſtracy* in Being. *

THE *Commons* then having obtained ſuch Protectors, returned quietly to their Habitations, and continued to live orderly while they were employed in foreign Wars; but at the Returns of Peace they often reſumed the Quarrel under their new Leaders; and after many Efforts, at laſt extorted it from the Senate, *That whereas formerly the Nobles or Patricians could only bear Offices of Honour, and riſe to Dignities in the Common-wealth*, thenceforth not only the *Pretors* and *Lieutenants* of Provinces, but firſt that *one*, and afterwards that *both* CONSULS might be *Plebeians*. As theſe were great Revolutions in themſelves, and made way for greater, they are the Points of View we muſt keep in our Eye, while we are ſpeaking of the *Roman Polity:* for from them we may date the Ruin of the Balance of Power between the chief Parts of the State; the unhinging their Conſtitution, the Converſion of the Government from the beſt of Forms, a *mixed Monarchy*, to the very worſt, a *Democracy*; and from it forebode certain Convulſions, and an approaching Fall.

FOR in the firſt place, here was full Scope given by the very *Conſtitution* to lead the Populace, to fill them with Jealouſies, enflame their Diſcontents, and exaggerate Grievances: He who could do this the moſt ſucceſsfully, was ſure, though the moſt worthleſs Man in the State, to become dreadfull to the beſt; or to

* Εσὶ δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ δευτέρα μὲν τῦ ΔΙΚΤΑΤΟΡΟΣ παρόντος; ἂν δὲ μὴ παρῇ, πρώτη καὶ μόνη σχεδόν· ἡ γὰρ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΑ διαμένει, τὰς δ' ἄλλας καταλύσει πᾶσαι Δικτάτορος αἱρεθέντος. ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ.

to force them to buy him off by Power and Places he little deſerved. In a word, the *ſeditious Tribunes* were the PESTS of the Republic, avowed *Incendiaries*, and the Cauſes of all the Diſorders that tore the Frame of the *Roman* Government to pieces, and made way for its final Diſſolution *. For from the time of SP. MAELIUS, who periſhed in the Attempt, *heading* the MOB was the Method purſued by all the Diſturbers of the publick Peace. It was by enflaming the Populace, that firſt the *Gracchi* aimed, then *Apuleius Saturninus* and *Livius Druſus* attempted, and that *Marius*, *Cinna*, and *Ceſar* actually *accompliſhed* the dreadfull Deſign of enſlaving their Country: Nor could the abandoned *Clodius* obtain his wicked Purpoſes againſt a good Man, untill he obtained leave from his Friend *Julius Ceſar*, then Conſul, to renounce his Nobility, was adopted by a Plebeian, and made a *Tribune* of the *People*.

THERE ſeems to be little hazard that the Likeneſs or Ambiguity of Names ſhould *ſo far impoſe* on any Perſon, as to make them apprehend what is here ſaid of the *Roman Populace*, to be applicable to the COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN. No body can fall into that Miſtake, who knows the Difference between a Multitude of many thouſands, where the pooreſt Artiſan has his Voice, and a choſen Aſſembly of Gentlemen, nobly educated, and by their Birth and Fortunes raiſed far above the low Conſiderations of *Corn* and *Shew*, the uſual Bribes of the COMITIA of *Rome*: But if there was any hazard of miſtaking, the things related of each muſt prevent it. The Encroachments of the *Roman* Commonalty broke the Hinge of their Government, threw them into Confuſion, and ended in the Loſs of their Liberties: While on the contrary, there was never a Deſign formed upon ours, but the PARLIAMENT was firſt aimed at as their greateſt Defence: In this reſpect the worthieſt Senator in *Rome*, and of the oldeſt Patrician Blood, would have been well pleaſed with the Appellation of a *Britiſh Commoner*.

OF

* Seditionum omnium cauſas *tribunicia poteſtas* excitavit. FLOR. Lib. III. § 13.

Of a piece with the former, there was *another* Blemiſh in their Conſtitution, which, tho' it ſprung from the original Innocence and Probity of the People, yet it joined its pernicious Influence with the firſt in the Iſſue. Not only the conſtituent Parts of the State were not enough *ſeparated*, but even the Powers of their *particular Magiſtrates* were vague and indetermined.

Such had been the Fortunes of this State, for four or five hundred Years, and with ſuch Men had its Commands been filled, that there was no need to preſcribe to them *what they were* NOT to do: Their own *Manners*, and the good Opinion of their Citizens were Motives ſufficient to keep them in their Duty, and Reſtraints from doing any irregular or turbulent thing. But when *theſe* came to change; when the daring to do *any thing* paſſed for Courage, and the worſt of Infamy was *to be poor*; they had not ſo much as the Pretence of the Laws to ſhelter them from the Encroachments of ambitious Men, got into their Magiſtracies and Places of Truſt: Much leſs had they *Penalties*, (the *Sanction* of the Law) to inflict upon the Tranſgreſſors of thoſe Forms which were not in being. If there was any *Check* upon them, it lay not in the *Laws*; but in the moſt corrupt part of the Common-wealth, the Will of the *Tribunes* and *good Pleaſure of the People*. The former might by their Veto hinder any ſingle Act; but when once the Magiſtrate was choſen, and in poſſeſſion of his Office, he acted up to and beyond his Powers, with great Confidence and Impunity. *Theſe*, as I ſaid, were not *defined*, either by Preſcription of the Laws, or Commiſſion from their Conſtituents *, and conſiſted chiefly in the *Practice* of their Country, enlivened by their mutual Emulation who ſhould do it the greateſt Services. But when that glorious Paſſion failed, and a violent Deſire of Power and Wealth (*however acquired*) came into its Room, they had fatal Opportunities

* The Form of their Commiſſion was no more than, Ut Cos. Procos. Praet. animadverteret, curaretque, uti ei e Rep. Fideque ſuâ videretur.

tunities put into their Hands of diſtracting the Common-wealth. He that was *Conſul* or *Tribune* had the one the *Armies*, and the other the *Laws* of the Romans, at his Diſpoſal for that Year, and often impudently abuſed their Authority to the inconceivable Detriment of the PUBLIC.

AND *hence* appears the juſt and delicate Connexion between the *Diſpoſition* of a Nation, and the *Government* eſtabliſhed in it; which is ſo nice a thing, and yet ſo neceſſary, that the Genius of a People cannot take a new Turn, without endangering the Conſtitution eſtabliſhed; nor can the Conſtitution be conſiderably altered, without a manifeſt Change of the Manners and Diſpoſition of the People *. What ſtronger Proof of this, than the *Riſe*, the *Progreſs*, and the *Ruin* of the *Roman Republic*? The firſt *Form* of their State aroſe from, and was admirably adapted to the Circumſtances and NECESSITIES of the People; their happy Conſtitution improved their *Manners*, enlarged their *Genius*, and increaſed their *Power*; thus the State continued to flouriſh, till the Depravation of their Manners *tainted* the Conſtitution, and the Diſſolution of *that* extinguiſhed their wonted *Greatneſs of Soul*. And as at firſt the early Virtue of that brave People, raiſed an inconſiderable State to the higheſt Pitch of human Grandeur, ſo, as was ſaid, the wretched *prieſtly Conſtitution* that now prevails, debaſes the Greatneſs of their *native Genius* † to an inconceivable Meanneſs.

THIS is indeed the CIRCLE of human Affairs; and in *this* Round the Fates and Periods of States revolve. Dangers and Hardſhips produce Bravery and Temperance with the concomitant Virtues: Theſe never fail to *raiſe* their Maſters, ſet them at

* Tout homme de bon entendement, ſans voir une Hiſtoire accomplie, peut preſque imaginer de quelle *humeur* fut un peuple lors qu'il lit ſes anciens ſtatuts et ordonnances; et d'un meme Jugement peut tirer en conjecture, quelles furent ſes Loix, voyant ſa Maniere de vivre. Car a dire le vray, les Loix bien ordonnées en un Païs, forment aux Sujets une habitude de Mœurs qui ſemble au long aller, être en eux empreinte par la Diſpoſition de leur Nature.

Paſquier Recherches, Liv. IV. Ch. 1.

† See Page 49.

at the Head of Affairs, and load them with Wealth and Proſperity. So far all goes well; every thing is on the increaſing Hand; and it is the moſt delightful View we can take of Mankind, to look at a great Society in this Situation. But this happy latter State laſts not many Ages, untill Riches and Grandeur, the Fruits of Virtue, unnaturally deſtroy their Parents, and wear out that Spirit in a Nation which acquired them their Honours and Power. Heaven avert ſuch Fate, by preſerving its Virtue, from *Great Britain!*

FEW States, however, have held it longer out againſt foreign Manners than the *Roman* did. And LIVY the Hiſtorian's Obſervation is very juſt, '*That we hear of no Nation, among whom* Poverty *continued longer honourable than among the* Romans.' The Foundations of their Virtues had been deeply laid, and ſo throughly wrought in with every thing that could command their Paſſions, that it required much Time and many Temptations before they could be eradicated. The Steps by which this unhappy Change was wrought, began (as may be eaſily conceived) with the things that bore the greateſt *Reſemblance* to their *former* Manners. They firſt gave into *Magnificence:* It had been from the beginning admitted into their publick Works; their *Capitol*, their *Aqueducts*, their great *Cauſeways*, and even their *Sewers*, tho' all Works of the firſt Ages of Rome, being not unworthy of its moſt powerfull Period: But now the publick Buildings were neglected; and not only Magnificence but Profuſion ſtole into their *Villas* and private Buildings: The *Arts* followed of courſe; and the ſeveral kinds of *Learning* made their Entry at the ſame time, and ingroſſed many of thoſe Hours that before had been given to the *Camp*, their *Clients*, or their *Country Farm.* 'Tis known that a *learned Roman* paſſed into a Proverb to expreſs a Wonder *. They made indeed but an aukward Figure in their firſt Attempts, and there were ſome of the Sciences to which they never attained. Their great Poet VIRGIL (who would not willingly have given the *Prefe-*

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* Litteræ in homine Romano!

rence to Strangers, (the *Plan* of his beautiful Poem being laid to do Honour to his Country in oppoſition to *Greece* *, and to compliment the *Ceſarean Family)* has acknowledged their Lameneſs in *Statuary*, both by Founding and Sculpture, in *Painting*, in *Aſtronomy*, and even *Orat'ry*; theſe he gives up to the *Greeks*; but, to *compenſate* his Romans, lays claim to VIRTUE and ARTS of *Government*, as their own. †

To ſay the Truth, they were too much Men of *Action* to cultivate the *Arts*; neither, while they were free, was there ſufficient Encouragement for that kind of Ingenuity: It is of a ſhy and generous Nature which requires the higheſt Eſteem from the Public, as well as noble Rewards to its Profeſſors, to cheriſh and bring it to Excellence: And when *Liberty*, that enlivening Principle was loſt, all after-Encouragement, how great ſoever, could ſcarce retain what they had before, far leſs carry it on to Perfection.

BUT to return to the Roman *Manners*; they did not keep long to the more manly Arts; and as the Paſſage is eaſy from Magnificence to Profuſion, having once given Way, they took wide Steps, and precipitated themſelves into Vice and Effeminacy. Their high Proſperity made this laſt part of the Change *quicker* among them, than has been known in any other People.

ARMS and AGRICULTURE had been the Buſineſs of their Citizens, for the firſt ſix hundred Years of their Eſtabliſhment: But after the demolition of *Carthage*, when their Apprehenſions of a Rival were vaniſhed, they had leiſure to think of their Diverſions: While they contented themſelves with thoſe of their own Growth, they were but few, and rough, like the Inventions of a martial People ‡; untill they began to look towards the Eaſt, and their Armies happened to winter in *Aſia* and

* 'Twas ſcarce *fair* to employ HOMER's Fable and Alluſions in ſuch a Deſign.

† *Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius Aera.* VIRGIL.

‡ Condita poſt frumenta, &c. HORAT.

Greece. 'Twas then that the Grecian Politeneſs, and Aſiatic Luxury, inſtructed their warlike Maſters in Arts and Vices they never knew before. The firſt Generation that brought them home practiſed them *ſparingly*, and with ſome *Reſerve*; but their Sons, when they came upon the Scene, and found themſelves *Maſters of the World*, threw off all Reſtraint, and plunged into every Exceſs they could think off.

LET us be more particular: The Legacy of *ATTALUS* King of *Pergamus*, (the rich Province of ASIA) who conſtituted the Roman People his Heir, was the firſt Draught of Poiſon adminiſtrated to the Roman Temperance. After that the Demolition of Carthage by *Scipio*, the Conqueſt of *Macedon* by *P. Emilius* *, and of *Corinth* by *L. Mummius*, filled *Rome* not only with *Statues*, and fine *Pictures*, but with other Inſtruments of Luxury. Yet theſe were in a great meaſure ſtill confined to *public* Uſe: The Statues adorned their *Forums*, *Portico's*, and *Amphitheaters*; and the Gold and Silver Goblets, Luſtres, and precious Veſſels did Honour to the *Feſtivals* of their Gods: — For the truly great Men above mentioned, with a Nobleneſs of Spirit, incredible in later Times, enriched the State, and ornamented the City, without adding a Shilling to their own Eſtate, or one Utenſil to the Furniture of their Family.

BUT as civil Diſcord is the Bane of Morals, when the Chiefs muſt connive at the greateſt Exceſſes, it was firſt under the looſe and impetuous *Sylla*, that the young *Roman* Nobility, who flocked to him while in ASIA, learned there to drink crowned with Roſes, to make ſumptuous Salons, ſplendid Feaſts, and practiſe all the Arts of Profuſion. To ſupport theſe, at that lawleſs Time, they likewiſe learned to oppreſs their *Allies*, pillage *Provinces*, plunder *Temples*, and trample upon every Conſideration, human and divine, that ſtood in the Way of their Luſt or Avarice.

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* It at once freed the People from the Burden of *all Taxes* paid to the Public.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA was a Man of infinite Vigour of Mind; and in the Loſs of his *Memoirs*, writ with his own Hand, the ſtrongeſt Draught of human Paſſions in the higheſt Whirls of Fortune and Sallies of Power, is for ever vaniſhed: But at the ſame time he was exceſſively debauched: — Pimps and Players, Buffoons and Bawds, were even in the Hurry of Buſineſs his common Companions. What would the young Officers of his Army be, when he became all-powerfull and abſolute Maſter of the Empire? — Or the old rapacious Captains that had gone thro' all the Scenes of Aſiatic Iniquity? He had a Minion, *Chryſogonus*, his Freedman, who from a Boy ſold for a Slave, by buying forfeited Eſtates, and other ſuch Ways and Means, came to be poſſeſſed of many thouſands a-year. This Youth had ſome noble Villas, richly furniſhed on every ſide the Town, and eſpecially on the Banks of the *Anio* and *Tiber*: But in his Houſe, or rather *Palace* in Town, was to be ſeen the Wealth of Nations, and the Spoils of the richeſt Families in *Rome*. It was adorned with coſtly Pictures, noble Statues, and all ſorts of Marble Work: His Buffets were loaded with emboſſed Plate, *Delian* and *Corinthian* Vaſes, among which was the celebrated Silver *Authepſa*, or SELF-DRESSER, a curious kind of Chaffing Diſh, which he bought at ſuch an immenſe Price, that the Byſtanders, ignorant of Greek, thought it had been the Name of ſome large Eſtate †. I mention theſe things, and his own gorgeous Dreſs, his flowing well curled Hair, his large lewd Family, becauſe as Favourite, and in a manner prime Miniſter, he would be a Pattern to the young Nobility of *Sylla*'s Party.

† Domus referta vaſis Corinthiis et Deliacis, in quibus eſt *Authepſa* illa, quam tanto pretio nuper mercatus eſt, ut qui praetereuntes enumerari audiebant, fundum venire arbitrarentur.

Cic. Orat. pro S. Roſcio Amer.

FROM hence we may date the deplorable Ruin of the *Roman* Virtue; and at the ſame time diſcover the Cauſes of the ſwift Advances they made to Corruption and Immorality. Their *Army* was not, as in other Governments, an extrinſic Part of the Conſtitution, which might be rotten and diſeaſed, while the reſt continued ſound: on the contrary, it was ſo incorporated with the very Eſſence of the Republic, that it could not be tainted without infecting the Vitals. Avarice, like a Peſtilence, ſeized upon all Ranks: Poverty tho' virtuous became contemptible; and vicious Opulence met with Honour inſtead of Puniſhment. This wrought a diſmal Change upon their Manners; and became one of the chief Cauſes firſt of the Degeneracy of their Spirit, and then of their final Fall. DISUSE OF ARMS by degrees crept in among their great Families. When they became poſſeſſed of vaſt Eſtates, the luxurious young Patrician cared not to go to a rough tumultuous Province where there was Fatigue and Fighting, but his Lady Mother found Intereſt to have him made Queſtor, or taken into the Train and Houſhold (*Contubernium*) of ſome *peaceable Pretor* going to govern a polite *Grecian*, or delicate *Aſiatic* Diſtrict. There inſtead of hardy inſpiring Virtue, inſtead of learning to weild his Sword, or ſtrike the Enemy, (as many a Roman Youth had done at eighteen) he learned Rapine and Effeminacy. This had ſo ſpread after the Defeat of *Hannibal*, and the Conqueſts of *Spain* and *Macedon*, that CATO ſaid, in a Verſe of *Homer*, there was but *one* MAN (the younger *Scipio*) in the Army before *Numantia*,—*all the reſt being empty frivolous Phantoms*.—It was *this* gave *C. Marius* ſuch Handles to laſh the lazy worthleſs Nobility, as *good for nothing* themſelves, and only ſhewing the *Pictures* of their Anceſtors.—It was *this* gave him Acceſs to make himſelf (one Plebeian) ſo *neceſſary* to Rome, that a great Hiſtorian ſays '*the Hope and Reſource of the City reſted in him alone* *'; and made that ſame Author affirm, 'That 'for

* *Spes opeſque civitatis.* C. SALLUST. Bell. Jugurth.

'for a great while Rome, like an exhauſted Mother, had not 'produced one great Man, till at length, ſhe had brought 'forth the two Oppoſites, *Julius Ceſar* and *M. Porcius Cato.*

THE ſame lamentable *Diſuſe of Arms* brought the *civil Conteſt*, after *Craſſus*'s Death, into the narrow Compaſs of *two* Chieftains. In the glorious Days of the Republic, when there was ſcarce a Senator who was not a *General*, nor *one* who had not been a Soldier; no Cabal of Traitors could have over-awed that noble independant Body. Had *M. Tullius Cicero*, with his good Heart and great Talents, applied more to Arms and military Virtue, he could have made a very different Stand for Liberty; and would not have been the Shittle-cock of every upſtart Captain that approached with a Body of Troops to *Rome*. While the *Piſans*, *Venetians* * and *Genoeſe*, went to War themſelves; while they filled their own Armies, and manned their own Fleets, they were brave flouriſhing States: now that they ſit at home and hire Mercenaries to fight and ſail for them, they are among the moſt daſtardly of the *European* People. What Wonders did not the *Dutch* do, even the *Burghers* of their Towns, while they all carried Arms, and defended a little Corner againſt the two ſucceſſive Terrors of *Chriſtendom?* But of late that the governing Faction, ſunk in Luxury, and bribed with Gallic Gold, ſent out each his Foot-man to fight for him, and put their Creatures and Retainers into Commands of Towns and Regiments, they made the Figure we all know at the Battles of *Fontenoi* and *La Felt*, and the Sieges of *Hulſt* and *Bergen op Zoom*.

BUT no clearer Inſtance can be given of the fatal Conſequences of this Conduct than in our own Country. After that Body

* I VENEZIANI come ei'ſi volſero alla terra, e.ſi traſſero di doſſo quelle arme che in Mare gli havevano fatti glorioſi, e ſequitando il coſtume degli altri Italiani, ſotto l'altrui Governo amminiſtravano li Eſſerciti loro,—&c.

N. MACCHIAVELLI Hiſt. Fiorent. Lib. I.

Body of great Men, who animated and directed the *long Parliament*, had reſcued the Engliſh Liberties out of the Jaws of Oppreſſion, they produced great Officers both by Sea and Land, and did Things in a few Years that were then the Aſtoniſhment of Europe, as they are now the Admiration of Poſterity. But unhappily for themſelves, they were contented with *ſitting in the Houſe*, chuſing able Men, and planning Expeditions: This made their Servants by degrees become their Maſters; and at laſt put it into *Oliver Cromwell*'s Power to chaſe them from the Houſe with Ignominy. The ſame Cauſe made them afterwards depend upon the Will of *one* ſingle Officer, *General Monk*, who deceived them. Had they, like *John Hambden*, or *Algernoon Sidney*, gone to War themſelves,——commanded the Armies of the Common-wealth in their Turns, come again and taken their Places in the Houſe, no *one* Officer durſt have bearded them, or could have ſhone like a Meteor, (as *Cromwell* did) among Stars of an equal or ſuperior Magnitude.—And accordingly, while he treated the Men of Form, the great Speakers with careleſs Contempt, he ſtood in real Awe of his own Brethren of the Blade.—*Deſborough* and *Fleetwood* frowned him out of a Crown; and *Lambert* and *Ludlow* broke his Sleep; nay even poor *Colonel Lilburn*, what a terrible Stretch did he make to have his Life, tho' in the Plenitude of Power? Let the *Britiſh* Youth take Warning, and contemn a trifling inglorious Life: Let Gentlemen of Families go to the Army at home, or into Service with our Allies abroad, not merely for Pay, but for protecting their Country, and being ready to defend their envied Liberties.—While the *French Nobleſſe* are lured to the Service by their political Court, under a fallacious Shew of Honour, tho' it be to ſlave to the Caprice of their Monarch, be Tools to a rapacious Miniſter, and rivet their Country's Chains;—let the ſuperior Spirit of Freedom inſpire and direct *our* martial Ardour to more exalted Ends; and with Knowledge of the Cauſe warm every *Briton*'s Breaſt with a ſettled Reſolution ſooner to part with

with Life than Liberty, and dy a thouſand Deaths rather than ſervilely bend his Neck to the Yoke of foreign or domeſtic Tyranny!

To inſpire this noble Reſolution, let us conſider what we have to ſtruggle for; what the *exalted Object* is that deſerves the Riſque of our Lives and Fortunes, to tranſmit it like a ſacred Pledge, fair and unblemiſhed, to Poſterity? Let us for this Purpoſe ſet the *Britiſh* over againſt the *Roman* Conſtitution, and if, in all Points of Government, (Conqueſt excepted) a viſible Advantage ly on the Side of BRITAIN, we may after *ſuch* Trial ſafely claim an abſolute Superiority to every Government now in being. And firſt the Security of every Man's *private* Liberty, Property and Life, ſeems to have been pretty near an Equality in both Countries. The Privilege of being judged by our *Peers*, our *Juries*, and the *Habeas Corpus* Act, are the Bulwarks of our Lives and Liberties. The firſt of theſe the *Roman Nobility* were deprived off, by being finally judged by the Aſſembly of the *People:* but our *Juries* ſeem to have been compenſated by an *equivalent* Practice at *Rome*. After the *Kings*, and their Succeſſors the *Conſuls* found it neceſſary to eaſe themſelves of private Cauſes, the PRETOR, on whom that Power devolved, immediatly upon entering on his Juriſdiction, made out a *Liſt of Judges*, from among whom a *certain Number* was choſen by Lot, to ſit upon every ſpecial Cauſe, and to whom both *Plaintiff* and *Defendant* had a Right to except: Sometimes that Liſt was compoſed of *fifteen* Men, elected by every *Tribe* out of their own Body. They decided *Points of Fact* both in civil and criminal Caſes, like the *Verdicts* of our Juries, *guilty* or *not guilty*; *indebted* or *not indebted*; and in *capital* Cauſes gave their Voice by *Ballot*. Yet here a Sett of *annual* Jurymen are more liable to Corruption than our *occaſional* Aſſize; and the *Pretor*, who pronounced according to their Verdict, how capable ſoever, muſt not be compared with the ſalutary Inſtitution of

of *our alternate Circuits*, made by venerable Judges, learned in the Laws, thro' Provinces where they can have few Connexions, and therefore few Temptations to Partiality.

THE *Habeas Corpus* ACT is balanced firſt by the Abolition of the NEXUS, or Power of *attaching a Man's Perſon* for Debt, A°. U. C. CCCCXXVIII; then by the *Appeal* in the laſt Reſort to the People, which put a Stop to all farther Puniſhment; and laſtly is over-balanced by the *Porcian* and *Sempronian* Laws, which forbad the putting a *Roman Citizen* to Death, without the Authority of the PEOPLE, and enacted *Baniſhment* as the ultimate Penalty to be inflicted on a *Roman*.

BUT as for the Security of *public* Liberty, the *Liberty* of the STATE, on which private Liberty, Property, Life, and every thing depends, it is inconteſtibly greater in the *Britiſh* Conſtitution in theſe three capital Points.

I. THE *COMMONS* of ROME acted in a *collective* Body; and the *Commons* of BRITAIN act by their *Repreſentatives*. The Difference is immenſe: — almoſt the ſame as between a Mob and a regular Meeting. While *Rome* was a ſmall Town, and the Number of its Subjects proportioned to the Number of the Governors; that is, while the Inhabitants of *one* Town could with eaſe inſpect and govern its Territory; and while at the ſame time the Roman *Manners* continued virtuous, the Power of voting in a *collective* Body did no great Harm. Yet even in the earlier Days of the Republic, the Proſperity inſeparable from this their Virtue, and the growing Numbers of their Citizens, rendered the *Comitia*, or grand Aſſembly of the People, too *numerous* to be very *orderly*. It is true, the Blemiſh ſhewed itſelf by Struggles modeſtly managed firſt for Relief from Oppreſſion, and then for a Share of Power. But after the bloody *civil* (which they affected to call the *Social* and *Marſic*) War *, having

* It ſwept away 300,000 of the *Romans* and their *Allies*.

ving incorporated almoſt all the Towns of *Italy* into ROME, the *PLEBES* became quite enormous, and put in the Power of Men of great Intereſt or Wealth to pour ſuch Floods of Slaves and Foreigners into *Rome* under the Name of *Citizens*, as put an end to order in the *Forum*, and made every thing be managed by Uproar and Violence. SYLLA's Laws for ſome time reſtrained the Rabble; but being repealed very ſoon after his Death, and the primitive Innocence of the Romans having at the ſame time given way to Luxury, the *Forum*, and *Campus Martius* contained the moſt corrupt tumultuous Meeting in the World. To *them* every ambitious Man that wanted illegal Power, from *Sp. Caſſius* who attempted to enſlave his Country, to *Julius Ceſar*, who accompliſhed the traiterous Deſign, applied in the firſt Inſtance, and ſeldom failed to obtain their Concurrence. If two violent Spirits were in competition for the ſame Dignity, like *Metellus* and *Hypſeus*; or puſhing for and oppoſing the ſame Law, like *Clodius* and *Milo*, they armed their Slaves, ſhared as 'twere the Mob, and occupied the *Forum*, or ſurrounded the *Temple*, where the *People* or *Senate* were to meet, as it had been with two hoſtile Camps. The violent Tribunes, who could lead and inflame the Populace, like *Sulpitius* and *Glaucia* play'd them conſtantly off againſt the beſt Deſigns of the *Senate*; and in ſhort, *this* Power of the People, and *this* Method of its Exerciſe, was the very Canker-worm that lay long at the Heart of the *Roman-Republic*, and at laſt gnawed out its Vitals. For we plainly ſee that *Julius Ceſar*, with all his uſurping Addreſs, and intereſted Generoſity, could never gain any conſiderable Number, far leſs a Majority, of the SENATE. A *needy* Party he had indeed made; but as they were the moſt profligate, they were likewiſe the moſt deſpicable Part of that auguſt Aſſembly; and clearly appeared to be ſo, when things came to Extremities. For it was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the *Senate* and *Nobility* who raiſed the Armies that oppoſed the haughty Uſurper.

Now, had the Roman-Commons been *repreſented*; that is, had five or ſix hundred of the firſt Gentlemen in *Italy*, been elected with a Power to paſs or throw out Laws, to give or refuſe Commiſſions, he would have found it a different Taſk to hoodwink a Majority of *ſuch* Men, appriſed of the Value of their Laws and Liberties, than by Shews, low Donatives, and Luxury to lead the *Dregs* of Rome. From *ſuch* a Body of Men, the greater Part of whom muſt have paſſed thro' the *Honours* and *Commands* of their Country, no *profligate Leader* would have obtained a five, and much leſs a ten Years Government of *Gaul*, with an Army of Deſperadoes ready to march into the Heart of *Italy*, and Seat of Government.

II. THE SUPREME MAGISTRACY in *Rome* being annual, was obnoxious to great Inconveniencies. Tumult and Bribery at the Elections;—a yearly Change of Counſels and Conduct; and an unquiet Spirit equally hurtfull in time of Peace (the happy Seaſon of a State) as advantageous in War. Of all theſe Evils, *Britain* is happily ignorant by the *hereditary* Succeſſion of her Kings. But may it not be urged that *their* Liberty was better ſecured than *ours* from the Attempts of Power by this *annual Change?* I anſwer, *No*;—becauſe the only Security they had for it was *that Change*, which itſelf depended upon the *worſt* and moſt *corruptible* Part of the Common-wealth. They had no other *Compact* with their ſupreme Magiſtrate, than that it was *underſtood* he ſhould rule according to Cuſtom, and for *one Year* only if he was not re-elected by the People. Whereas we have a ſacred original Compact between *King* and *People*, ſketched out in our MAGNA CHARTA, clearly ſtated in the CLAIM OF RIGHT, and ſolemnly ſworn in the OATH taken by our Kings preceeding their *Coronation*. The Recognizance and Declaration of this *national* RIGHT, and the happy Eſtabliſhment of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* in the illuſtrious Race of Princes that now fills the *Britiſh* Throne, are the chief Fruits of the glorious Revolution.

III. BUT

III. BUT without all doubt the ſupreme Excellency of the *Britiſh* over the *Roman*, and every other Conſtitution that ſtands upon record, lies in the *Tripartite Diviſion* of the LEGISLATURE: the moſt admirable Inſtitution ever deviſed by human Wit, for the Preſervation of Liberty, and attaining the great Purpoſes of Government! The *Romans* and *Lacedemonians* had *ſomething like it*, in the happy Ages of their Republics, while the SENATE adviſed or *digeſted* the Law, the PEOPLE, or their *Tribunes*, examined and *ratified*, and the aſſenting CONSULS made out the ACT, and took Meaſures for its *Execution:* And in SPARTA, the *Ephori* and ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ or *Senate* propoſed, the *People* approved, and the *Kings* executed: But it was a *mere Reſemblance* in both States: For in *Rome* neither of the other Powers had a real or effectual Negative upon the *collective Body* of the PEOPLE. They might ſtruggle for ſome time, and by gaining ſome of the wiſer and more moderate Tribunes to impoſe their (VETO) Prohibition upon their violent Collegues, might ſtave off a popular pernicious Decree; or they might aſſemble all their Clients, gather in a Body in the *Forum*, and as a *Part of the People* might *by their Votes* endeavour to ſtem the Torrent of the venal Multitude: But the Nobility or Senate had no Power to oppoſe *ſeparately*; nor, when aſſembled in the Senate-houſe, was their refuſing their Aſſent to any Law, nay their paſſing a direct contradictory Vote ſufficient to put a Negative upon a PLEBISCITUM; nor could they abrogate any Law formerly enacted by the *People*. We muſt accurately diſtinguiſh between the POPULUS and the PLEBES *: the former comprehended the whole accumulated Body of the Deniſons of *Rome*, *Conſuls*, *Senate*, *Knights* and *People*, met in the *Forum* acting as *one* Body, and the Nobility giving their Votes each in his own Tribe or Century, as *one of the People:* the latter (the PLEBES) excluded all *Patricians*, and in them, the chief Magiſtratures; and acting in that *excluſive* manner, gave Law to the whole †: But even

 when

* See Pag. 58. N. *.

† Lege HORTENSIA.

when mingled with the Patricians, the *Plebs* made always a Majority of the *Populus*; and failed not to out-vote the Nobility and Senate, when taught by their Incendiary-Tribunes to divide not by *Centuries*, but by *Tribes*, which gave the meaneſt Mechanic an equal Voice with the *Conſul*, or *General*, who had led Kings in Triumph, or been himſelf *Dictator*. Indeed the *preſiding* CONSUL might refuſe to report an unworthy Election, or to make out and execute an iniquous Decree of the Commons *: But he muſt do it at his Peril; at the Hazard of being impeached by a vindictive Tribune; and having a Day aſſigned him for his Appearance before the incenſed Multitude; who being in *this* Caſe at once Judge and Party, was a Riſque few Men choſe to run.

AT *LACEDEMON*, the Government which was left an *Ariſtocracy* by *Lycurgus*, was changed by the uſurping EPHORI into an *Oligarchy*, or Power of a few. Theſe general *Inſpectors* (ſo their Name implies) deſigned at firſt, like Tribunes at *Rome*, as a Check upon the Kings and Senate, became by degrees perfect *State-Inquiſitors*, arrogating all Power foreign and domeſtic to themſelves; making Peace and declaring War, managing the Treaſury, judging all other Magiſtrates, the *Kings* not excepted, and in fine, impriſoning, condemning and puniſhing by their own Authority †, like their Brethren the *DIECI* at *Venice*; with this ſole Difference, that they were annually elected ‡, whereas the *Venetian* Tyrants continue for Life.

BUT

* C. Sentius Saturninus Cos.—*juravit, etiamſi* M. Egnatius Rufus *factus eſſet* Cos. *ſuffragiis* POPULI, *tamen ſe eum non renunciaturum.*
C. VELL. PATERC. Lib. II. § 92.

† ΕΦΟΡΟΙ οὖν ἱκανοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ ζημιοῦν ὃν ἂν βούλωνται, κύριοι δ' ἐκπράττειν παραχρῆμα, κύριοι δὲ καὶ ἀρχοντας μέλλοντας καὶ παύσαι, καὶ ἄρξαί γε,— καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ TYPANNOI, ἐνίους παραχρῆμα κολάζουσι. ΞΕΝΟΦ. ΛΑΚΕΔ: Πολιτεία.

‡ I have met with no Paſſage in any proper Author that lets us know, whether the EPHORI could be legally *continued* in their high Office, or *re-elected* after a certain Term?

BUT (Thanks to propitious Heaven, for the greateſt Bleſſing on Earth!) it is far otherwiſe in *GREAT BRITAIN*; the Land diſtinguiſhed by its *Conſtitution* from all the Nations now in Being. *HERE*, the utmoſt *Wiſh* of the greateſt Politicians *, the laſt *Effort* of their Skill, what they thought rather a Point of Speculation, than *poſſible* in Practice, is actually put in Execution: A *mixed* Government prevails, wonderfully compoſed of the three Forms, *Regal*, *Ariſtocratical*, and *Popular*,—the Power of each ſo naturally adapted to its Share in the Government, and ſo nicely balanced as reciprocal Checks and Helps, that, above the Reach of human Contrivance, it ſeems the Produce of higher Wiſdom than uſually rules the Affairs of Men. Such is the TRINE COMPOSITION of the Britiſh-Legiſlature; THREE *Negatives*, Guardians of the Prerogative of her Kings, of the Privileges of her Peers, and of the Independency of her People; any *one* of whom is ſufficient to prevent the Will of the other two from paſſing into a partial Law, and renders a *national* Concurrence neceſſary to give an ACT the legal Sanction.

THE *Energy* of this divine Inſtitution is marvellous; its Operations, like thoſe of NATURE, are partly *ſilent* and *ſure*, partly *obvious* and *ſtriking*, always *beneficent* and *big* with Felicity. It would be no eaſy Taſk to trace their Effects; which are deeply *felt* by every *Briton*, that can taſte the exalted Pleaſure of *being free*, of fearing nothing but the *Laws*; and who has the Ingenuity and Gratitude to acknowledge it. But, like all human Enjoyments, they are inhanced by their Rarity, and ſhine brighteſt by Compariſon. Wherefore, to be truly ſenſible of our Happineſs, we muſt quit the *Queen of Iſles*, make a Tour beyond Sea, and obſerve *Plenty* confined to Palaces, a few *Favourites* revelling, falſe Splendor and tinſel Equipages belying *gaunt Poverty*;—while the *Towns* languiſh, the *Fields* mourn, the fleeced

* PLATO, ARISTOTLE, POLYBIUS, CICERO, TACITUS, RAWLEIGH, SIDNEY, MONTESQUIEU: *cujus, ſicut* M. VARRONIS Imago *in* Aſinii Pollionis *Bibliothecâ*, unius viventis *ponendum eſt Nomen*. See Pag. 64. N. *, and SIDNEY, Vol. I. Ch. 2. § 16.

fleeced *Peaſant* pines, the *Merchant*, permitted to ſwill for a Space, is ſqueezed like a Spunge into the King's Coffers, and the *Nobility*, an Appendage to an oppreſſive Court, cringing to a *Superintendant*, and ſunk in *Slavery* and *Ignorance*. Then returning to the Seat of Freedom, let us view her Order, her Populouſneſs, her flouriſhing *Towns*, cultivated *Fields*, crouded *Ports*, thronged *Markets*, growing *Manufactures*, eſpecially towards the *North*, where, thro' the Courage and Conduct of a Royal Leader, Peace now reigns, and thoſe Hands are buſied in virtuous Induſtry, that formerly lay idle, when unemployed in Brawls and Thieving. Happy Country! where Juſtice and Liberty ſupport each other,—diffuſe Plenty, or rather Profuſion thro' all Ranks, and beget the noble independent Spirit of a free-born *Briton*.

THESE are *ſome* of the Effects of our matchleſs Conſtitution: To trace them all, either on the *peculiar Character* of the People, or on the *ſeveral Branches* of the Adminiſtration, tho' a tempting Subject to a *Native*, would lead us too far from our *own*: Beſides that there are certain Points of Politics which, like the ΑΔΥΤΑ of the ancient Temples, (the holy Place hid from vulgar Eyes) appear beſt, as placed by Prudence, *in perſpective*. Among the chief of theſe, let us reckon the *Reſult* of the *Britiſh Conſtitution*; and without ruffling the Veil that covers *its more immediate and recluſe Method of Operation*, let us venerate *the Power* that keeps us a FREE and HAPPY PEOPLE. So far only let us be proud to ſay, and to repeat, That our Form of Government by a KING, LORDS and COMMONS,—three Powers having conjunctly the *legiſlative*, and ſeparately the *executive*, *judicative*, and *deliberative* Parts, with a reciprocal *Negative* upon one another, is a full Completion of what the moſt refined Stateſmen ever wiſhed, as the higheſt Pitch of political Happineſs.

NOR ſhall ENVY here forbid our reverencing Truth, and acknowledging that ſince the grand *Era* of Britiſh-Liberty, the *Revolution*,

Revolution, the Ballance hath been kept ſo even, by *legal Britiſh* Counſels from the THRONE, (except a crazy Start of a ſquint-ey'd Faction in the end of a female Reign) and a firm and prudent Spirit in the co-operating Parts of the Government, that our Conſtitution hath had *full Play*; has produced its natural Effects, of Security to Perſon and Property, Liberty of Conſcience and Converſation, Wealth and even Luxury at home, Power and Conſideration abroad, hath enabled us twice to ſtop the Career of a perfidious encroaching Neighbour; and, pity that ſo fair a Mother ſhould have ſo deformed a Child, hath filled us with Licentiouſneſs, and Inſenſibility of our preſent Felicity.

BUT as Diſaffection to *ſuch* a Government muſt proceed either from Diſingenuity or Ignorance, it would be no leſs diſingenuous to refuſe the Praiſe juſtly due to the princely Virtues by whoſe *immediate* Influence we enjoy the Sweets of it. 'A ſupreme Magiſtrate, governing according to Law, acquitting 'himſelf worthily of the mighty Truſt, and exerting his regal 'Power as the Father of a free People, is a Character far above '*Conqueror*, —— one of the moſt exalted among Men:' And ſuch a Character, and ſuch a King hath the whole Tenor of his Reign approved GEORGE II. to have been to *Great Britain*. Every Step of his Government;——every Treaty he has made, every War he has waged, every Alliance he has contracted, ſhew him firm to the *Proteſtant* Cauſe, and true to the Intereſts of his *People*. At home, Men not only of diſtinguiſhed Capacity, but of eminent *Virtue* and *Moderation*, are pick'd out to fill the higheſt Truſts. Such are at the Head of the *Law*, and of the *Church*.—Such are ſet round our riſing Hope the *royal Offspring*, and to crown all, *ſuch* have the chief Sway in the happily harmonious *Councils* of the King and Nation. Deſervedly does *ſuch* a Prince reign in the Hearts of the worthieſt of his Subjects; and deſervedly is this Homage paid to Truth by.

by a Pen, untaught to flatter, tho' warm with Gratitude, as the Tribute due to royal Virtue from a free and faithfull Subject.

LET *Britons* then underſtand their true Intereſts; let them know their *Pre-eminence*, cheriſh their Laws, and part with Life rather than their CONSTITUTION: But withall let them remember, that a *Proteſtant* Family upon the Throne, whoſe beſt Title to it is founded upon a *Law* ſettling the Succeſſion, in conſequence of a ſolemn national COMPACT to preſerve our civil and ſacred Liberties, is the *great Barrier of our public Happineſs:* And while our future Princes are wiſe, and prefer no *foreign* Intereſts to thoſe of their own Kingdoms, as ſome of the weakeſt of their Predeceſſors *,—while they ſhew themſelves *ſteady* in the Diſcharge of their ſupreme Truſt, and ready to riſque every thing to humble a perfidious Nation, that holds out Chains to Soul and Body, (*tinſelled*, it is true, with Luxury) they will be the prime Bleſſings of our State, and be revered and loved as the Parents of their People.

FOR it is on no refined Cob-web Politics, or ſubtile Fetch of Wit, that the *Britiſh Liberty* is founded. It muſt in the laſt Reſort plainly depend upon the *Spirit* of her Sons.—On the noble, impatient Spirit of an independent *Briton*; which muſt give her a Figure abroad, and guard her Freedom at home: and *that* SPIRIT is the ſole Gift of *ſoul-exalting* VIRTUE. It is *Virtue* that elevates a Man, and aggrandizes a State: It is *Vice* and Immorality that debaſe both. ROME was great while it was *free*; and it was free while it worſhipped *Virtue*. *Vice* begat Meanneſs of Spirit; *that* entailed Dependency and with it a Train of Misfortunes, which landed in *Slavery*, and then came Deſtruction with as ſwift a Pace as the Remains of the Cuſtoms introduced by *departed Virtue* could admit. For ſuch is the Efficacy of the Heaven-born Nymph, that not only her real

* JAMES I. in the Intereſts of *Spain*, CHARLES II. and JAMES II. in the Intereſts of *France*.

real Preſence raiſes and preſerves a State; but her *very Shadow* when the Subſtance is gone, is able, like the Apoſtle's *, for ſome time to retard its Ruin. Could the Nobility and Gentry of *Britain* be made truly conſcious of their own Dignity,—could they clearly perceive whereon their *Honour* and *Happineſs* depends;—were they throughly convinced, that the CONSTITUTION of their Country is their moſt precious Poſſeſſion, the Preſervative of their Eſtates, and Prop even of their Pleaſures, they would in the firſt place be at more pains *to ſtudy* it; and then, in all their Deliberations would conſult its Intereſts as their *own:* They would deſpiſe and trample upon *little Party-views*, of what kind or denomination ſoever. No removed Malecontent from Pique or Love of Place, would betray them, as lately, into a factious Oppoſition:—no pretended Patriot, whoſe Deeds and Doctrine were oppoſite as the Poles, would make them weaken the Hands of *Britain*'s Friends. No popular Frenzy on the one ſide,—no Frown of Power on the other †, would ſhake their firm Reſolve, or make them ſwerve in a ſingle Point from their Duty: But wiſely true to the Welfare of their Country,—true to their own Independency, they would purſue one bold undeclining Courſe of ſound and heroic Policy. The Paſſions, the Politics, the Frowns, the Foibles of other States or Stateſmen ſhould not impede nor deter them from driving at the prime Point in view, *Britain*'s Glory, *their* higheſt Intereſt. Neither let the leaſt doubt of *Succeſs* in ſo glorious a Cauſe, damp their Endeavours againſt either foreign or domeſtic Foe: *Right*, if managed with Prudence and Bravery, muſt *in its own Nature* get the better of *Wrong*; and *Liberty* has always, when they met upon Terms but nearly equal,

 trampled

* Acts v. 15.

† Non *civium* ardor prava jubentium
Non vultus inſtantis *tyranni*,
Mente quatit ſolidâ.

HORAT.

trampled *Slavery* under Foot; all Hiſtory, eſpecially *Britiſh*, abounding with Inſtances of Handfulls of *free Men* triumphing over Multitudes of *Slaves*. But the native Force of *Great Britain* is formidable of *itſelf*; its Dominion wide and fertile,—its public Revenue of great Amount, and capable of much greater; (in contradiſtinction to a full Treaſury and impoveriſhed Provinces; the Caſe of our greateſt Neighbours:) So that we fall not under the famed *Lyſander*'s Saying, *That our* Spirit *wants a* STATE *to ſupport it* *.——But by the Situation of our happy ISLAND on the North-Weſt of *Europe*, the Opportunities of her Havens, the Number and Strength of her Colonies, (ſpread almoſt o'er the Globe,) and above all by her CONSTITUTION, and the *noble Genius* of her Sons, capable of every Culture but *Servitude*, ſhe ſeems deſigned by Nature as *the Sanctuary of Liberty*, and to ſit revered, *Miſtreſs of the Ocean*.

ALONG with DISUSE OF ARMS in *Rome*, the ſame Cauſe produced the *Abuſe* of them in the few that followed the Profeſſion: Their chief Purpoſe was formerly to protect their Allies and Friends; and now they were chiefly employed in plundering them and their own Provinces. Their Governors were abſolute, like ſo many *Baſhaws*, during the Continuance of their Government, and were only accountable at their Return. When therefore the Roman *Manners* changed, when from the moſt diſintereſted, they became the moſt avaricious People on Earth, here was a proper Field to ſhew it,—and accordingly Extortion, Oppreſſion and Rapacity, diſplayed themſelves in their worſt Shapes. 'Our Provinces, ſays *Cicero*, are pillaged, haraſſed and 'intirely ruined; our Allies and thoſe in our Pay, defrauded 'and diſtreſſed: So that now they hope not for Preſervation, 'but deſire ſome Solace for their Undoing in the Puniſhment of 'their

* Οἱ λόγοι σῶ ὦ ξένε, πόλεως δέονται.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡ.

'their Tyrants *.' The celebrated Impeachment of C. VERRES, Pretor of *Sicily*, yet extant in the Writings of that great Patriot, is the moſt ſtriking Inſtance of Extortion and Iniquity upon Record. And to ſhew that the Caſe of the plundered People was almoſt deſperate, thro' the many ways of eluding Proſecutions at Rome, (their Courts at home being no ſounder than their Tribunals abroad) he affirms that an Opinion, no leſs ſhamefull than detrimental to the Republic, had long prevailed, 'That as the Courts then ſtood, no moneyed Man, were he never 'ſo guilty, could be condemned at *Rome*.

A ſingular Circumſtance in this Trial ſhews to what Height the public Profligacy had riſen at this Time. After the Names of the Judges had been drawn out of the Urn, and that *Cicero*, the Proſecutor, had rejected as many of them as the Law allowed, VERRES, though vaſtly rich and impudent, appeared not a little dejected. His chief Counſel, *Hortenſius* (the greateſt and moſt gracefull Orator in Rome untill he was eclipſed by *Tully*) was then Candidate for the Conſulſhip. It was the Cuſtom of the *Romans* to chuſe, or rather *nominate* two Candidates to be *Conſuls* the enſuing Year, who were not to enter upon their Office untill the firſt Day of *January*; and were therefore called *Conſuls elect* †. From this Nomination *Hortenſius* was returning, as it were in Triumph, accompanied as we may ſuppoſe ſo powerfull and popular a Man to have been. By chance the famous C. CURIO (the Firebrand afterwards of the civil War) met him and his large Retinue, among whom was his unworthy Client *C. Verres*. HIM *Curio* ſingled out of the Croud, and without taking the leaſt notice of the *Conſul elect*, or ſaying a Word to any Friend or Relation attending him, he took the Plunderer in his Arms, bid him *caſt away Care*; *For I let you to wit*,

* Populatae, vexatae, funditùs everſae provinciae: ſocii ſtipendiariique Pop. Rom. afflicti: miſeri jam non ſalutis ſpem, ſed exitii ſolatium quaerunt.
CICERO. in Q. Caecilium.

† CONSULES DESIGNATI.

wit, ſaid he, *that this Day's Election hath finally acquitted you.* Nothing could be more *affronting* to the Judges, more *ſcandalous* to the new Conſul, nor more *profligate* in itſelf,—yet it paſſed unreproved; the notorious Thief cheared up; and ſet boldly about his old Trade of Bribery as before.

It is eaſy to conclude from theſe and ſuch like Stories, that about this time *Corruption* of every kind muſt have come to its Height; and ſure greater Inſtances of it never diſgraced a State than appeared in *ancient Rome*; as if it had been to counterbalance their former Virtues: But ſtill it was *ſuch* a Corruption as obtains in a great Common-wealth before its Fall, the moſt plauſible Species of the worſt of Things. They were corrupt and luxurious it is true, which no Talents, how great ſoever, can compenſate to the Public: But they had likewiſe all the Qualities, which *living at large* brings along with it. They had loſt the Taſte of the higheſt human Bliſs, VIRTUE and PATRIOTISM; but had acquired exquiſite Feelings on moſt *other* Subjects; and inſtead of being *good* Men, had made the bitter Exchange of being in ſome reſpects more *polite* and *knowing* Men than their Predeceſſors. They had formed a juſt Conception of the Improvements which *common Life* admits from Wealth and Intereſt, and from a Reputation of Capacity and Underſtanding. The ſubſervient Arts of *Building*, *Gardening*, *Painting*, and *Sculpture* were improved upon the *Grecian* MODELS, and their real *Standards* ſettled and known. The Decorations of Furniture, the Conveniencies of Bathing and Exerciſe, the Delicacies of Bed and Table were put in the eaſieſt and niceſt Order: Even thoſe of a higher Nature, and leſs apt to ſatiate, *Learning*, *Love*, and *Appearances* of Friendſhip, had their Shares and Parts aſſigned them, and were made to contribute, each in its Place, to the main Deſign of what THEY *fooliſhly* thought, *living happily*. For they had bartered *Realities* for an *Appearance*, public Spirit for private Ambition, ſolid Grandeur for empty Shew,

and

and by that means had *foregone the God-like Virtue of their Anceſtors*, one Day of whoſe glorious Lives out-weighed Ages of their luxurious Drudgery.

FORMERLY the *Roman Youth* attended the *Senators* going to their ſolemn Aſſembly, and waited patiently, as 'twere *at the Poſts of Wiſdom's Doors*, untill the SENATE diſmiſſed, that they might ſeverally reconduct their great Inſtructors in *Virtue* and the *Laws* to their Habitations: A Practice that at once enured them to Modeſty and Patience, and begat deep Reſpect in their Minds for the Decrees of that venerable Meeting. But *now*, they were employed in Dreſs and Triffling, in going to Plays, and talking of Actors and Actreſſes; or put under the Tuition of ſome *Grecian* Preceptor, as we do under a *French* Tutor, who taught them to prate, and practiſe Luxury.

FORMERLY the *Cuſtoms* and *Rules* introduced by Neceſſity and ſanctified by the Laws were held ſo inviolable, that the greateſt Men bowed before them: but *now* theſe ſacred Forms muſt give way not only to the Intereſts and Paſſions, but to the Pride and Lazineſs of thoſe they ought to have governed. *Formerly* no Man could be admitted to exerciſe Magiſtracy, or enter upon the high Dignities of the Common-wealth, under a certain Age, and without having firſt run thro' the inferior Offices. Theſe were now *diſpenſed* with, upon an Application, with *proper Donatives*, to the PEOPLE. *Formerly* no Officer, civil or military, (Capacities for the moſt part *blended* in Rome) entered upon his Command or Charge, without conſulting the GODS by *Augury*, and obtaining Signs of their Approbation. A *Shew* of this was ſtill kept up; but *Ways* and *Means* were fallen upon to mollify theſe rigid Requiſites, and bring them to a polite Compliance with the Eaſe of the Citizens. The new-elected *Conſul* or *Pretor*, getting up by the Dawn, made a certain Prayer in open Air, when immediately an *Augur*, *preſent* and *paid* for

that

that purpoſe, affirmed *all was well*; *that* Jupiter *gave Signs of Acceptance and Proſperity by a Clap of Thunder* (which no body heard) *on the left*.

In the firſt Ages of the Republic, *Power* and *Provinces* had been courted as the Means of gaining Honour, by defending Allies, humbling Enemies, and enlarging the Empire: But now, the prime *Magiſtracies*, *Conſulſhips* and *Prieſthoods*, were coveted as *Reſources of a broken Fortune*, and the *Governments* of Provinces, as Opportunities of *Rapine*, and making Proviſion for *Luxury*. Their Colonies, by which they had made *Italy* a ſort of Suburbs to *Rome*, and ſecured their moſt diſtant Conqueſts, were formerly of two ſorts; either, as was obſerved, a *veteran Legion* at the Concluſion of a War ſettled for its good Service in the fineſt Spot of the conquered Land; or the ſuperfluous number of Artificers and indigent Citizens, crowded in and about *Rome*, led out to a free and more commodious Situation: But now the leading forth of a Colony, was either a *Bribe* of public Lands to a lazy corrupt Populace, to favour ſome illegal Demand; or it was the *Domain of ſome free City* taken by Force, and beſtowed upon the Crew of Ruffians that had aſſiſted their Leader to trample upon the Laws, and maſſacre the Men that legally poſſeſſed it.

The Loſs of *Morality*, and of the Regard due to the *Religion* of a Country looſens the whole Frame of Government; but its pernicious Effects are chiefly conſpicuous in the *Regulations* that ſprang from their higheſt Virtue. The Censorship in Rome, a kind of abſolute Monarchy in *Manners*, as the Dictatorship in the *State* became an invidious Office, firſt gloomy and moroſe, and at laſt impracticable in the Execution. The Triumph was formerly the glorious Recompence of the higheſt civil and military Merit. It was the final Reward of Integrity in Power,—of a Life ſpent in the Service of Rome, and crowned by leading home her Sons victorious and her Foes in Chains. This was now baſely proſtituted.—It was given not only *with-*

out

out but *againſt* Deſert; it turned to vain *Shew* of Rarities, and Oſtentation of Magnificence.—The *triumphal Enſigns*, a Fantom contrived by the Emperors, grew contemptible and ridiculous; and many a Commander entered *Rome* in a triumphal Chariot, that for his Cruelty, Extortion, and Cowardice better deſerved the Cart of the Executioner. The other Honours of the Common-wealth, were ſometimes raviſhed by Impudence and Force, ſometimes given to *mere* Nobility and empty Name; but for the greater part, the Dignities of *Rome*, the moſt ſacred not excepted, were purchaſed from a corrupt People * by immenſe Bribes, and Sums that even yet ſeem incredible.

FARTHER Deſcription of the Degeneracy of the Roman Manners would be but unpleaſant: For who cares to dwell upon the black Sides of an once renowned Nation? Beſides, that a Sett of Obſervations have been thrown together by a very maſterly Hand, which ſet many Circumſtances both of the *Roman* Growth and Decay in a curious and entertaining Light †. I therefore chuſe to put it upon the greateſt *Orator* and the greateſt *Hiſtorian* ever Rome produced, to ſum up the Account of the Men and Manners among whom they lived.

OLD *ENNIUS*, a true Roman Poet, (ſound Senſe and noble Sentiments delivered in the rude Phraſe of a martial People) happened to live at the Period when Magnificence and Luxury were juſt beginning to ſteal into the State, but durſt not openly ſhew their Faces: Yet the Bard perceived their ſilent Progreſs, dreaded its Conſequences, and like a true Friend to Virtue and his Country, uttered the memorable Verſe.

By MEN *and* MANNERS *of the* ancient *Stamp*
Stands mighty ROME. ‡

'THIS

* SECTORQUE favoris—ipſe ſui POPULUS.
LUCAN.

† REFLEXIONS ſur la *Grandeur* et *Decadence* des ROMAINS.
Par M. L. P. MONTESQUIEU.

‡ MORIBUS antiquis *ſtat* Res Romana, VIRISQUE.

'THIS Line, ſays the eloquent Patriot, for its Conciſeneſs 'and Truth ſeems to have been pronounced, as it were, from 'an *Oracle*. For neither was it in the Power of the *greateſt* 'Men to have founded and propagated ſo vaſt and extenſive an 'Empire as *ours*, unleſs the *general Manners* had been ſound and 'good; nor could theſe Manners have done it of themſelves, 'without *ſuch Men* to lead and improve them. It is paſt diſ-'pute, that before theſe latter Days, *the Manners of our Country* 'formed excellent *Men*, who in return, ſuſtained and dignified 'the Rites and Cuſtoms of our Anceſtors: But the *Generation* 'in which WE live, having received the Common-weal entruſt-'ed to its Guardianſhip, like ſome excellent Piece of a famed 'Maſter, but faded thro' Years, has not only neglected to re-'freſh its former Colouring, but has loſt the very Draught and 'main Lines of the Picture. For what is there now preſerved 'of theſe *ancient Manners* upon which the Poet hangs the Safety 'of the Roman State? They are ſo totally effaced,—ſo loſt in 'oblivion, that inſtead of being *uſed*, they are not ſo much as '*known*. It is needleſs to mention the MEN, for want of whom 'the *Manners* are diſuſed, and the Virtues of our Forefathers 'appear *ſtrange* to their Poſterity. I muſt acknowledge, that 'for this fatal Degeneracy, we are bound not only to *account*, 'but make a ſolemn Defence as in a capital Accuſation: For it 'is by no evil Chance or accidental Calamity, but merely thro' 'our VICES, that we have only the *Name* of a COMMON-'WEALTH, but have long ago loſt the *Reality*.' *

IT was firſt, ſays the *Hiſtorian*, upon the Expulſion of the KINGS, that every *Roman* began to feel himſelf a *free Man*; to rouze his Genius and exert his Talents; ſo that it ſeems almoſt incredible how rapidly the Republic roſe after the Eſtabliſhment of their *Liberty*. A noble Emulation and a Thirſt of Glory had univerſally

* M. T. CICERONIS de REP. Fragm. apud AUGUSTIN. de CIV. DEI. Lib. II. § 21.

ſally ſeized the Citizens. The *Youth* as ſoon as they could weild a Weapon, learned Warfare by Toil and Practice in the *Camp*; where happily ignorant of Revels and Debauch, their Pleaſures lay in the Beauty of their Armour, and in Horſes trained for War. To Men ſo bred, no Ground was too rough to march, no Hill too ſteep to climb, no Fatigue intolerable, nor Sight diſmaying of an armed Foe. Among themſelves the ſole Conteſt was for Fame,—to ſtrike the Enemy, to be the firſt Man to mount the Wall,—to be *ſeen* doing ſuch glorious Deeds; *that* they reckoned the greateſt Riches, *that* was Fame, and the higheſt Nobility. Greedy of Praiſe, and inconcerned for Gain, an immenſe Reputation and moderate Eſtate was the Wiſh of their Lives. By this means ſound Morals prevailed both at home and abroad; and there was the higheſt Concord whilſt there was the leaſt Avarice. RIGHT and PUBLIC GOOD ſwayed not ſo much in virtue of the *Laws*, as by Habit and Inclination. As for Broils, Quarrels and Animoſities, theſe they wrecked upon the Foes of *Rome*; but Citizen only ſtrove with Citizen for Pre-eminence in Virtue. By theſe two Qualities, a *ſteady Courage* in War, and *Equity* and *Moderation* in Peace, they governed themſelves and the Common-weal. Of this we have a convincing Proof; that in time of War the military Puniſhments were more frequently inflicted upon thoſe who had *fought* contrary to Orders, or who had *continued* fighting after the Signal was ſounded for Retreat, than upon ſuch as had deſerted their Colours, or ſuffered themſelves to be driven from their Rank. But, when Peace was once concluded, they then employed their Power in *doing Good*, and kept up their Authority more by beſtowing Benefits than terrifying their Subjects; and even when injured, choſe rather to forgive than avenge an Inſult.

BUT when thro' a Tract of Juſtice, Toil and Fortitude, the Common-wealth had mightily increaſed; when great Kings had been ſubdued, ſavage Nations and powerfull States been vanquiſhed by dint of Sword; when CARTHAGE, the Rival of

the Roman Grandeur, was razed from the Foundation; when Sea and Land were laid open by their Valour, then began *FORTUNE* * to frown and confound every thing. For the very Men who had ſuffered Fatigues, and encountered Dangers undaunted, who had ſurmounted Adverſity and ſmiled under Hardſhips, Peace and Wealth (the ſupreme Wiſh of others) proved their final Ruin. And in the firſt place, *Love of Power*, and next *Love of Money*, infected their Minds: theſe proved the Fuel of all ſort of Wickedneſs. For prevailing *Avarice* effaces Honeſty, Probity, and every better Sentiment of the human Heart;—and in their ſtead introduces Haughtineſs, Cruelty, Neglect of Religion and infamous Venality: while on the other ſide lawleſs *Ambition* drives headlong to Falſehood,—to have one thing in the Heart, and another ready on the Tongue,—to meaſure Friendſhip and Enmity not by Merit, but Conveniency,—and to have a better Countenance than a Life and Converſation.

THESE Vices creeping in by ſlow degrees, were often check'd in the beginning; ſevere Laws were made againſt them, and ſome good Men bent the whole Power of their Magiſtracy to quell and extirpate them: But it was too late: The Contagion had ſpread too wide, and like a general Peſtilence had infected the whole Body of the Common-wealth. Then it was that a total Change was wrought upon the *City of* ROME, and that the *Roman* Government, of the juſteſt and beſt, became the moſt cruel and intolerable Yoke in the World. At firſt, however, it was rather AMBITION than Avarice that perverted their Minds; a Vice that has ſome *Reſemblance* to Virtue. For all Men, the worthleſs as well as worthy, are deſirous of Fame, Honours and Command. The Difference is, that the one takes the fair laudable Road to obtain them, while the other, deſtitute of good Qualities to recommend him, has recourſe to Fraud and Fallacy. But AVARICE, a ſordid Vice, implies a Greed

* FORTUNE! an empty Name, of no Significancy; being a Bond-ſervant to *Induſtry* and *Virtue*.

Greed of Lucre, which no truly wiſe Man was ever tainted with: For, as if drenched in deadly Poiſon, it debaſes the Soul it once ſeizes on, enervates the Body, and extinguiſhes every Spark of Manhood; being endleſs, inſatiate and equally craving in Affluence as in Want.

When therefore the Republic, reſcued by *SYLLA*'s victorious Arms, from very fair Beginnings found a bitter Iſſue, his Officers and Partizans began to exerciſe all manner of Violence, and rob and rend whatever they coveted: One a fine Houſe, another an Eſtate; Modeſty and Moderation were trampled under foot, and the Victors committed horrid cruelties on the Perſons and Families of their Fellow-citizens. This had been chiefly owing to *Sylla*'s own Conduct, while he commanded in chief againſt *Mithridates*. To gain the Army to his ends, he had, contrary to the *Roman Diſcipline*, indulged them in all Licentiouſneſs. The delicious Climate and pleaſurable Groves of *Aſia*, conſpiring with this Indulgence of the General, eaſily blunted the military Fierceneſs of the Troops amidſt eaſe and affluence. It was *there* then the Army of the Roman People firſt learned to abandon themſelves to Wine and Women,—to admire Pictures, Statues, and Vaſes of curious workmanſhip,—to ſpare neither public Temple, nor private Dwelling, to come at their poſſeſſion; to trample upon all Tyes, civil or ſacred, to fulfill their Luſt or ſatiate their Avarice.

When ſuch an Army as this, brought home to Italy, was victorious in many fierce Encounters, and at laſt totally routed the *Marian* Faction under the very Walls of Rome, they behaved in their *own* Country in the ſame Way as they had done in the *Aſiatic* Provinces. They ſtripped the vanquiſhed of every thing. High Proſperity is the Enemy that even *Wiſdom* has moſt to fear. What then could be expected from a corrupt Army in the Inſolence of Victory?

But after this fatal Period, Wealth, *mere Wealth*, however purchaſed, was ſupremely honoured; and drew in its Train,

Places, Power and Reputation. VIRTUE began to languiſh; *Poverty* became a Reproach;—and *Sanctity of Manners* was interpreted into Gloom and Malevolence. Then the formerly hardy and brave Roman Youth, by being delicately bred, became luxurious, covetous and proud,—learned to plunder in order to ſpend,—grew careleſs of their own Eſtates, and envious of their Neighbours; and being with-held by no Conſideration, by degrees diſcarded Shame, laughed at Modeſty, and ſet every thing *to Sale*, human and divine.

It is worth a wiſe Man's while, after having conſidered the *Houſes* and *Villas* of the latter Romans, built liker *Towns* than Country-ſeats, to review the Temples which their Anceſtors, the moſt religious of the human Race, had reared to the Gods. Theſe good and great Men adorned the Temples with their *Piety*, and their own Houſes with the *Fame of their Actions:* Nor did they deprive the People they had vanquiſhed of any one thing, except the Power of inſulting their Neighbours. But their worthleſs Progeny, a daſtardly Generation, with the utmoſt Indignity ſtripped the *Friends* and *Allies* of Rome of all the Poſſeſſions, which their victorious Progenitors left them while *Enemies:* as if truly the Sweets of Dominion lay in a Licence to commit Iniquity.

I need ſcarce relate things which are hardly credible to thoſe who have not ſeen them; that *Mountains* have been levelled, and *Seas paved* in many places by private Men; who ſeem to me to have waſted Wealth thro' mere Wantonneſs, ſince they choſe to laviſh thoſe Riches in riot, which they might have enjoyed with honour and decency. But along with theſe Enormities *Debauchery* univerſally prevailed. Extravagance in Dreſs and Equipage, unnatural Proſtitution, Men forgetting their Sex and Women—Shame; Sea and Land ranſacked for Dainties,—eating before Appetite, drinking without Thirſt, ſleeping without Laſſitude, and every Call of Nature prevented thro' Luxury. When young Men ſo educated, came to the Management of

their

their own Eſtates, they ran them quickly out, and were then ready to liſten to any deſperate Counſel. For a Mind plunged in Vice, and given up to indulge *every* Deſire, can ill forego its wonted Pleaſure,—and therefore lies open to *any* Temptation, and will ſtartle at *no* Method to ſupply its Wants, or feed its Profuſion. *

But tho' the great Authors from whom I have taken theſe diſmal Draughts, repreſent this Degeneracy as univerſal, they muſt be underſtood with a little diſcretion. That the Run of Luxury was general, is too true; yet it ſuffered great Exceptions. The *Conſtitution* apparently ſubſiſted, *Liberty* roſe to a degree of *Licentiouſneſs*, the *Cuſtoms* and *Forms* both of Courts and Families, introduced by their virtuous Anceſtors ſtill took place.—*Theſe*, and many combining Accidents preſerved, in ſo vaſt an Empire, many a Mind untainted with the common Contagion; and *ſome Spirits*, the Pride of Nature, are ſo moulded by her all-powerfull Hand, as to grow up ſound tho' ſurrounded with Diſeaſe, and improve their Health, as it were, by living in a *Peſt-houſe*. For it is a peculiar Effect of corrupt Morals, to make *Worth* and *Virtue*, where they are *genuine*, ſhine with redoubled Luſtre; not only as now ſet off with ſo many Foils; but as the general Temper and Manners run croſs, they are juſtly ſuppoſed to proceed from *Principle* rather than *Cuſtom*, and like other Things, acquire an additional Value, by their Rareneſs and Difficulty.

Such then was the Condition of the Roman State, when a Sett of Men of the greateſt Talents for Peace or War that are upon Record in Hiſtory, made their Appearance upon the exalted Scene. There was *Catulus*, *Lentulus*, and *Cotta*, Men of Dignity and Eloquence; and the more *profeſſed* Orators *Hortenſius*, *Calvus*, and *Cicero*: There were both *Speakers* and *Captains*, *Metellus*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey* the *Great*; and to leave out no kind of Character, there was the Patron of the profligate *Julius Ceſar*, and the Friend of Virtue, *M. Portius Cato*. Theſe were eminent

* C. Salluſt. Bell. Catilin.

eminent among many others of great Capacity: Some of them are as yet the Admiration of Poſterity; as more of them might have been, had they not made it apparent that rather than remain contented with the *legal* Honours of *Rome*, they choſe by a Series of Crimes, to wade thro' Seas of Blood to their Country's Ruin.

C. JULIUS CESAR of a noble Family, paſſed an infamous and abandoned Youth. But when he grew up and began to intermeddle in Buſineſs, he gave Proofs of his being poſſeſſed of every Quality neceſſary to make a great Man, had they not all been poiſoned by being employed in the worſt of Purpoſes, *the enſlaving his native Country*, and converting the *glorious Roman Republic* into an *abject Tyranny*.

He was naturally brave, eloquent, and profuſe; patient in Toils, keen and conſtant in his Purſuits, gracefull in Perſon, of vaſt Reach in Buſineſs, thoughtfull, reſtleſs, and uſurping. This ran thro' his whole Life: For ſuch was his inſatiate Thirſt of *Power*, ſuch was his Impatience to *domineer*, that from the time he became capable of Affairs, that Plot was never formed, nor Deſign laid by lawleſs Men to embroil the State, in which this lawleſs Youth had not, or wanted not to have his Share. Tho' his Family had been remarkably attached to the *better Party*, yet from the firſt minute he was his *own Maſter*, thro' a ſtrange Depravity of Inclination and Hatred of Order, he conſtantly ſided with the *low licentious Populace*, and aimed at deſtroying the Laws, and humbling their Friends and Defenders, the Nobility and Senate. This Diſpoſition had not eſcaped *Sylla*'s piercing Eye; who with great Reluctance ſpared his Life: But happening to be in *Cilicia*, ſerving one of his firſt Campaigns under *Servilius Iſauricus*, when the News of the *Dictator*'s Death reached the Army, accompanied with a Report that *M. Lepidus* a turbulent Man, then Conſul, was to put himſelf at the Head of the old *Marian* Faction, repeal *Sylla*'s Laws, and ſeize upon the Common-wealth; the young Volunteer hereupon

upon quickly abandoned his General and the Army, and haſted to ROME to take Part in the ſeditious Enterprize: and tho' *Lepidus* himſelf met with the Reward of his Deeds, and periſhed ſoon after, yet ſuch was the young *Ceſar*'s Affection to the Party, that he undertook the Cauſe of the Out-laws, and had the Intereſt to procure from their Friends the *Populace*, the Revocation of their Sentence of Baniſhment.

WHEN military Tribune, (the firſt Honour depending upon the Votes of the Tribes) he exerted his whole might in aſſiſting the Heads of the *Marian* Faction, who were preſſing for the Reſtoration of the *Tribunes* of the People, (the Incendiaries of the State) and whoſe exorbitant Powers had been clipped, tho' the Office itſelf was not aboliſhed by *Sylla*. By four Laws he had made a vaſt Revolution in the Roman Government. Firſt by reſtoring the original Inſtitution, that no Reference ſhould be made to the *People*, nor any Matter debated in their Aſſembly that had not been firſt canvaſſed and decreed by the SENATE. Next, that according to *Servius Tullius*'s Scheme, the Commons ſhould divide and vote only by *Centuries*, never by Tribes; thirdly, by aboliſhing the *Negative* of the Tribunes, depriving them of the Power of *calling the Senate*, or meddling with any thing that did not concern a Plebeian. And laſtly, by diſqualifying all but Patricians from being choſen *Judges* in any Cauſe public or private, and by that means putting the Lives and Fortunes of the Citizens almoſt in the Hands of the Nobility.

THESE ſalutary Laws the headſtrong *Lepidus* * attempting to overturn at once, was overpowered by his Collegue Q. *Catulus*, as we juſt now obſerved, and was quickly put to Flight.—But other ambitious popular Men, finding it eaſier to deceive the Multitude, and obtain irregular Commands from *them*, than from the *Senate*; and the *Patricians*, by ſhamefull Proſtitution in their *judicative* Capacity, giving too good a Handle, the Laws were attacked

* Ἀνὴρ καλαπλακίδης. ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ. He fled to Sardinia, where he died of Shame and Anguiſh.

attacked one by one, till they were all repealed, and the Common-wealth again left at the Mercy of the turbulent *Tribunes* and venal *Vulgar*, as before the *Marian* Diſtractions. In bringing about this calamitous Change, and particularly in re-inveſting the Tribunes in their fatal *Negative* on others, and Power of *propoſing Laws* themſelves, no Man was ſo keen as the young *Ceſar*.

THE next Office in courſe, according to the Roman Cuſtom, was to be *Queſtor*, that is *Pay-maſter* or *Lieutenant* to a *Pretor* or *Conſul* going to govern a Province of the Empire. But *Ceſar* being ſent into Spain in that Capacity, quickly wearied of doing his Duty: he deſerted his *Pretor* and the *Province*, and went directly where there were Hopes of *an Inſurrection*. The Colonies, originally *Romans*, were a powerfull Body in *Italy*: Some of them had obtained the Freedom of the City, and their Inhabitants were on the ſame Footing with *thoſe of Rome*: Others of them had only the Immunities of the ancient *Latins*, (Inhabitants of *Latium*) but in the late Confuſions had been ſpirited up to demand Admiſſion to all the Honours of the *Romans*. Among *theſe* did this hopefull *Magiſtrate* make a Circuit, and had certainly inſtigated them to rebell, had not the *Conſuls* kept the Legions deſtinated for *Cilicia* longer than uſual in their Neighbourhood.

DISAPPOINTED here, and always reſtleſs, he haſtened to Town to ſtand for the *Edileſhip*; which he obtained: But a few Days before he entered upon it, he was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having entered into a Conſpiracy with *M. Craſſus* (a noted Patron of bad Men) formerly *Conſul*, and *P. Sylla* and *P. Autronius* nominated to that high Office, but condemned for Bribery and their Election voided. The Deſign was laid, 'to murder 'the *Senate*, make *Craſſus* Dictator, *Ceſar* Maſter of the Horſe, 'new-model (that is deſtroy) the Common-wealth, and reſtore 'the Conſulſhip to *Autronius* and *Sylla*.' But *Craſſus*'s Heart (not *CESAR*'s) failed him at the Thought of ſuch horrid Deeds:

Deeds: He did not keep the Day appointed for the Execution; and *Ceſar* who *did*, was afraid without him to give the concerted Sign (throwing his Robe from his Shoulders) to begin the Maſſacre.

When this failed, *Ceſar* next aſſociated with a wild audacious Youth, *Cn. Piſo*; who forgetting his Character and Family, (one of the nobleſt in *Rome*) had firſt reduced himſelf to Beggary, and then entered into a Plot with a Sett of Ruffians to make a Sedition in the City, murder the Conſuls, and make the infamous *L. Catiline* and *P. Autronius* ſupreme Magiſtrates in their ſtead. This Deſign, which ſhould have been executed the beginning of December, having taken air, they were obliged to poſtpone it to the February following; upon the ſixth day of which the moſt execrable thing ſince Rome was a City had been perpetrated, if the fierce *Catiline* had not come out *too ſoon*; and given the Sign before the Senate-gate to begin the Carnage, er'e the Band of armed Slaves was aſſembled to execute it. To rid the City of ſuch a Traitor, the Senate, principally at the perſuaſion of *Craſſus*, ſent *Piſo* Pro-pretor to the hithermoſt *Spain*. But before he went away, *Julius Ceſar* and *He* conſpired to riſe in arms againſt the Government at one and the ſame time; *Ceſar* in the City, at the head of the old abandoned Crew, and *Piſo* in the *neareſt Gaul*, now *Lombardy*; whence he had a quick March to Rome, and where they were 'to make away with the Conſuls and ſeize the Government.' But *Piſo*'s Death, who was killed on his Journey by his own Troopers for imperious Cruelty, put an End to the bloody Deſign; but not to the Plots of his Partner.

For *CESAR* having by vaſt Profuſion in his *Edileſhip* ruined his Eſtate, but entirely gained the Multitude, he bribed one of the Tribunes to propoſe an Ordinance 'to inveſt him (*Ceſar*) 'with the Pretorian Dignity, give him the Command of an Ar-'my, with a Commiſſion to march into *Egypt*, the richeſt King-'dom in Alliance with *Rome*, to re-eſtabliſh *Ptolomy* their King,

'(*Cleopatra*'s Father) whom the People of *Alexandria* had 'ejected for Miſ-government.' The Ordinance did not paſs, having been unanimouſly oppoſed by the whole Body of the Nobility: To be revenged on them, having found out the Statues and Trophies of *C. Marius*, their virulent Enemy, which *Sylla* had overturned and defaced, he had them privately repaired and new-gilt; and on the Morning of a ſolemn Day, erected them in the *Capitol*, expoſed to the View and Adoration of the Populace, whoſe Patron *Marius* had been, in which *Ceſar* now openly profeſſed himſelf his Succeſſor. *

THERE had been one *Apuleius Saturninus*, the moſt furious and peſtilent of all the *popular Tribunes*, at firſt a favourite Tool of *Marius*, and then betrayed by that perfidious Man. This Fellow ſtuck at nothing, Tumult, Murder, or any Violence. His Fury roſe to ſuch a pitch that the *People* themſelves *turned* upon him, and breaking into the *Capitol*, whither he had fled, with *C. Rabirius* another Tribune at their Head, they beat and ſtoned him to Death. For this, *Ceſar* ſuborned one of his Creatures, to impeach *Rabirius* of Rebellion †, and appoint a Day for his Trial: When it came, and the Judge was to be choſen by Lot, to his utmoſt Satisfaction *Ceſar*'s own Name was drawn out of the Urn. He was forced to go thro' the common *Formality* of hearing both Parties; but in ſpite of Evidence, and contrary to Law, he condemned the *old Man* with ſuch *eager* Precipitancy, that upon an Appeal, the very People acquitted him, chiefly upon account of the flagrant Iniquity of the Judge.

IN the next Step of *CESAR*'s Life, while he was PRETOR, that is next in Power to the *Conſuls*, capable of the Government of Provinces, of commanding Armies, and judging the higheſt Cauſes, his Deſigns, if not more criminal, (which they could not be) were at leaſt better laid. His Correſpondence with *L. Catiline* had

* It was upon this occaſion that Q. CATULUS ſaid, *CESAR* was not now *undermining* the Government; but openly *ſtorming* it, as with a *Battering-Ram*.

† XL Years after the Event.

had not been broke off by *Piſo*'s Death: How deeply he dipped is uncertain; but he was accuſed by two Witneſſes as one of the Conſpirators with *Catiline* in the horrible Plot to burn the City, butcher the Senate, and ravage the Empire: But finding their Counſels were blown, and the Buſineſs turned deſperate, he had the Artifice to ſend Informations of ſeveral Particulars to *M. T. Cicero* then Conſul and Preſerver of *Rome:* He called therefore upon him, now, when accuſed before the Fathers, to bear witneſs of his Innocence, which the Conſul for Reaſons of Prudence, readily complied with. This protected him from a double Information, one before the *Queſtor* NOVIUS, and the other in the *Senate*, tho' no body doubted the Truth of his Guilt. But *Ceſar*, not contented with eſcaping himſelf, undertook the Cauſe of the convicted Traitors, with ſuch Warmth and Obſtinacy, that he both fixed the Perſuaſion of his own Treaſon, and drew upon himſelf the Indignation of all good Men. The Roman KNIGHTS, then ſtanding in Arms to guard the *Senate*, had a great mind to have diſpatched him; and ſhook their Swords ſo menacingly in his Face, that the Senators ſitting next him ran away; and *C. Curio*, with an other Friend, graſping about him, and covering him with their Robes, hardly reſcued him out of their Hands. This imminent Danger did at length fright him: he abandoned the Oppoſition, and came no more to the SENATE for that Year.

BUT the very firſt Day of the next, when he entered upon the *Exerciſe* of his Office, he called *Q. Catulus*, the Prince of the *Senate*, to appear judicially before the PEOPLE, and account for the vaſt Sums laid out by him in repairing the *Capitol*, which had been burnt to the Ground in the *Marian* civil War: and at the ſame time made a Motion, that the Inſpection and Management of that great Work might be transferred from *Catulus* to ſome *other* Man. But the Probity and Worth *

* Q. CATULUS, quem neque periculi tempeſtas, neque honoris aura, potuit unquam de ſuo curſu, aut ſpe aut metu, dimovere. CICERO.

of the *firſt Senator of Rome* being univerſally admired, he was baffled in both theſe Points: and therefore, never quiet, he join'd Intereſts with an impudent Tribune, *Metellus Nepos*, who was endeavouring to puſh thro' ſome pernicious Laws, even in ſpite of his Collegue Tribunes; and headed the Rabble with him ſo avowedly, that by a ſolemn Decree of the Senate, both *Metellus* and *Ceſar* were deprived of their Dignity, and declared incapable of exerciſing their Office for that Year. In the Face of this Decree, *Ceſar* had the Aſſurance to order his *Tribunal* to be placed in the *Forum*, and to ſit as Pretor to hear Cauſes as before. But being told that there was an Order iſſued by the *Conſuls* for a Party of Soldiers to drag him down by main Force, he inſtantly diſmiſſed his *Lictors*, laid aſide his *pretorial Robe*, and ran terrified home, with a Reſolution to make a Virtue of Neceſſity, and live peaceably during *theſe evil Times of good Order and legal Government.*

THE News of his Diſgrace quickly ſpread among his Friends the Multitude. Great numbers of them came flocking about their Leader's Houſe; and in a riotous diſorderly manner, bid him 'reſume his Dignity, maugre all the *Senate* could do, for they 'would defend and ſtand by him to the laſt.' But whether *Ceſar* had not recovered his Fright, or judged his *Mobile* would be no Match for the *Conſular-Legions*, and dreaded the Fate of *Saturninus* or the *Gracchi*, to the general Surprize, he diſmiſſed the giddy Meeting, and deſired them to go home and demean themſelves like good Citizens. A Senate had been haſtily called, upon the firſt Accounts of the tumultuous Concourſe about *Ceſar*'s Houſe; and hearing to their Aſtoniſhment how regularly, and how like a *Roman Magiſtrate* he had behaved, they immediately ſent ſome of the chief Men of their Body, with the Thanks of the *Senate* for what he had done, brought him to the Temple where they were aſſembled, commended his Conduct in the moſt honourable Terms; and reſcinding their former Act, reſtored him to the full Exerciſe of

his

his *pretorial Power*. With ſuch Honour might *Julius Ceſar* have enjoyed the Eſteem of his Citizens, and obtained the higheſt Dignities of his Country, could he have preferred *Order* to *Crimes*, and the Applauſe of the *beſt*, to the Society of *the worſt of Men!*

THE *farther* SPAIN happened to fall again under his Government after the Expiration of his *Pretorſhip*, as it had done after he was *Queſtor:* But either thro' Dread of an Impeachment from conſcious Guilt, or of being arreſted by Creditors for an enormous Debt *, or for both, contrary to Law and Cuſtom, he hurried out of Town before the *Provinces were finally ſettled*, and the Inſtructions drawn by the SENATE, what Troops, what Money, what Cloathing, *&c.* ſhould be employed by each *Pretor*, and to what purpoſe, during the Year of his Government. In the Exerciſe of his Office, inſtead of protecting, he raiſed Contributions upon the *Allies of Rome*, and with inhuman Perfidy plundered ſeveral Towns in *Portugal*, who had ſent Delegates to know his Commands, and had received the Traitor and his Army *with open Gates as Friends*. When this Work was over, which enabled him to clear a Part of his Debts, and which he ſubſtituted in place of *adminiſtring Juſtice*, and promoting the *Peace* and *Proſperity* of the Province, he abandoned it in the ſame illegal Manner he had gone thither; and without waiting for a Succeſſor to receive the Charge of the *Army* and *Government*, he took Poſt for Rome, to ſeek a *Triumph* and the *Conſulſhip*.

THERE were two other Competitors for that high Office, *L. Lucceius* and *M. Bibulus: Lucceius* was a monied Man, very applicable to Ceſar's Meaſures, but not very gracious with the People.

* Λέγεται ΚΑΙΣΑΡ πρίν εἰς ἀρχήν τινα καθίσαοθ, χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων γενέοθ χρεωφειλέτης ταλάντων. *i. e.* CESAR is ſaid, before he entered upon any Office to have run in Debt to the Amount of *L.* 251,875 *ſterl.* Πλεῖαρχ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. and on this occaſion M. CRASSUS bailed him for ὀκτακοσίων καὶ τριάκονῖα ταλάντων. *i. e. L.* 160,811 *ſterl.*

People. *Ceſar* by his former Profuſion and Load of Debt, had left himſelf little to give: but being a Perſon of Addreſs, he prevailed with *Lucceius* to *bribe* in both their Names, as he ſhould conjunctly *recommend* him to the Multitude. *CESAR* was now well known in the *Senate*, and the Profligacy of his Manners exceedingly deteſted by the grave and good Men in that auguſt Aſſembly: they dreaded the Conſequences of his being poſſeſſed of the ſupreme Dignity in the REPUBLIC, for which, dropping his ill-deſerved Triumph, he ſtood a Candidate; but eſpecially if he obtained a Collegue of his *own* Stamp to concur with him in his Projects, they thought, not without reaſon, he would ſtick at nothing to raiſe himſelf and embroil the Common-wealth. The Nobility therefore prompted the other Competitor *M. Bibulus*, to promiſe as much Money to the mercenary Populace as *Lucceius* had done, and raiſed themſelves the Sum by Contribution, with the Approbation even of M. PORCIUS CATO, who acknowledged '*THAT* Bribery, at leaſt, *to be* '*evidently for the public-Good.*' By this means *M. Bibulus* and *Julius Ceſar* were declared Conſuls. To give the latter Acceſs to do as little Miſchief as poſſible, the ſame Perſons took Care that the *Conſular*-Provinces, depending upon the *Senate*, ſhould be thoſe of the leaſt Importance, and affording the feweſt Handles for Uſurpation; ſuch as the Inſpection of the *Foreſts*, and Reparation of the *high Ways* thro' *Italy*. This provoked the aſpiring *Ceſar* beyond all Patience. It ſtruck at his darling Paſſion *to domineer*, and put him upon racking his Brains for *other Methods* to obtain his Ends.

CN. POMPEY and M. CRASSUS were at that time the two moſt powerfull Men in the Empire, but at high Variance; their conjunct Conſulſhip having been one continued Scene of Diſſenſion. They were both formed for Buſineſs, good Speakers, and equal to the greateſt Enterprizes. *Craſſus* by his Knowledge of *Rome*, Practice in the *Courts*, and above all by his immenſe

menſe *Wealth*, bore great Sway; but *Pompey* ſhone above him by his *military Glory*, the Splendor of his *Triumphs*, and the Clientſhips of *Kings*: at the ſame time the vaſt *Treaſures* (Spoils of the conquered Nations) and various Employments he had to beſtow on his Creatures, gave him the chief Stroke in the Adminiſtration: While theſe two Leaders took *oppoſite* Sides, the State remained free between them: their Power was reciprocally poiſed; and there was Room left for the *Senate* to caſt the Balance in favour of better Counſels, by falling into the ſalutary Scale.

CESAR, ſagacious in Evil, conſidering this State of Parties, quickly ſaw, that if the *two Chiefs* would join Intereſts, they would be irreſiſtible, eſpecially if underpropped by his Credit with the *corrupt* Part of the State; and therefore laboured with all his Might to bring about a Reconciliation. *M. Craſſus*, from a Similitude of Manners in public Life (being a profeſſed Patron of bad Men *) was his particular Friend; as appeared by his relieving him out of the Hands of his moſt inexorable Creditors, at the Expiration of his Pretorſhip. It remained therefore to gain POMPEY; THE GREAT, whoſe Friendſhip *Ceſar* ſpared no Pains, Art, or Intereſt to acquire. That truly great and good Man, was regular, moral, and diſintereſted: But his Foible lay in ſuch a Thirſt of *legal* Power, and ſuch an unhappy Proneneſs to *Popularity* †, that he was frequently engaged in miſchievous Meaſures, and induced by others to do wrong Things, contrary to his own Judgment and noble Nature. It was thus, that he, who had been almoſt the next Man to L. SYLLA in quelling the

* Ne CRASSUS, *more ſuo*, ſuſcepto malorum patrocinio Remp. conturbaret.
C. SALLUST. Bell. Catilin.

† CN. POMPEIUS innocentiâ eximius, ſanctitate praecipuus——potentiae quae honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidiſſimus.——Neque eo viro quiſquam, aut alia omnia minus, aut gloriam magis concupiit.
C. VELL. PATERCUL. Lib. II. § 29——33.

the *Marian* Faction, and reforming the Conſtitution from the *Tribunitian* Abuſes, was afterwards prevailed upon, to reſtore that very Power of the Tribunes, in order to preſerve the Favour of the Multitude. *Ceſar* was now the Minion of the common People, as *Catiline* had been before *; and *Pompey*, who never once imagined it poſſible for ſuch a *Proſligate* to become his Rival, thought he might uſe him as his Tool among the Tribes, in order principally to confirm his Grants and Regulations in the *EAST*, and therefore anſwered the Advances he made him with equal Shews of Civility. In a word, the artful *Ceſar*, full of Rage at the Laws and Senate, the Bars to his Ambition, firſt wrought himſelf ſeparately into the good Graces of theſe two eminent Men, and then ſo ſoftened the Prejudices they had long entertained againſt one another, that he got them firſt to meet and talk over the public Affairs, and at laſt to enter into a ſtrict Correſpondence; the Reſult of which was, a ſolemn Agreement between him and them, *That nothing ſhould be done in the State which diſpleaſed either*, POMPEY, CRASSUS or CESAR.

THIS was the fatal and pernicious Combination that firſt blaſted the Vigour of the *Roman Republic*. It was a latent, but *effective* Tyranny eſtabliſhed in a free Common-wealth; an *Oligarchy*, or Government of *three*, who ruled as abſolutely, as it was poſſible to do without Arms and Conqueſt. It gave a deplorable Turn to the Tide of Liberty, by contracting the Channel of Government, hampering the free independent Spirit of the Citizens, and drawing the Vitals, as it were, of the Empire into ſo narrow Bounds, as to ſtarve the other Parts neceſſary for its Strength and Preſervation. The riſing Youth, and even the Men of Standing and Character in Affairs, inſtead of founding their

* Omnino cuncta Plebes—CATILINAE incoepta probabat.
C. SALLUST. Bell. Catilin.

their Hopes upon their Integrity and Services *, were taught by this fatal Conjunction, that no Merit could *promote*, nor Innocence *protect*, without the Favour of an *overgrown Director*, who diſpoſed of Offices, and explained the Laws according to his Intereſt or Inclination. *Dependency*, that ſervile ſoul-debaſing Habit, the uſual Fore-runner of Slavery, naturally enſued: the manly generous Temper of a ROMAN was damped and diſcouraged †: the PUBLIC by degrees loſt ſight of *Virtue*, the Source of public and private Happineſs, and was obliged to turn its eyes upon *three Men*, who with a great mixture of Merit and Crimes had thruſt and wriggled themſelves into the place of the *Laws*, and eluded the *Conſtitution*. *Pompey* rather connived at, and *Craſſus* rather abetted the illegal Things done by their Creatures, than committed Miſdemeanours in their own Perſons; but their Aſſociate in the *Triumvirate*, being then *Conſul*, went a different way to work.

THE Roman Conſuls, as was formerly obſerved, were *Kings in Rome* for one Year; and had all the Power of the Royalty veſted in their Perſons, as the Enſigns of it were carried before them. They were Heads both of the Senate and People, Generals of the Republic, Guardians and Executors of the Laws, and Protectors of the Privileges of the ſeveral Orders in the State: And having been for the moſt part Patricians, or of ſuch rich plebeian Families as came to have the ſame Intereſts and

* Commutata tota ratio eſt SENATUS, JUDICIORUM, REI TOTIUS PUBLICAE. Otium nobis exoptandum eſt; quod ii *qui potiuntur rerum* (Pompeius, Craſſus et Ceſar) praeſtaturi videntur, ſi quidam homines (Cato, Marcellus, Domitius) patientius eorum potentiam ferre potuerint. DIGNITATEM quidem illam *Conſularem*, fortis et conſtantis *Senatoris*, nihil eſt quod cogitemus; amiſſa eſt.
M. T. CICER. Ad Fam. Lib. I. Ep. 8.

† Non offendes eundem BONORUM ſenſum quem reliquiſti, qui nunc ab iis à quibus tuendus erat derelictus. Ita non ſolum fronte et vultu declarant ii qui tum, noſtro illo ſtatu OPTIMATES nominabantur, ſed etiam ſententiâ ſaepe jam tabulâque docuerunt.
Ibid. Lib. I. Ep. 9.

Sentiments, the Conſuls were deemed truſty Defenders of the *Nobility* and *Senate*, againſt the Violence of the Tribunes and Venality of the People. This had been ſo much the Caſe, that the noble *Q. Catulus*, ſeeing *Cicero* apprehenſive of *Clodius*'s Tribuneſhip, bid him "take courage, that no harm could befall "him if *either* of the CONSULS was a good Man; and ſince "ever *Rome* was a City, it had never happened except under "*Cinna*, that BOTH Conſuls were bad ones.

BUT *JULIUS CESAR* having entered upon this high Office, perverted its Purpoſe, and turned its Power to oppreſs the Men, and bear down the Meaſures he ought to have defended. And firſt to prevent any Obſtruction from his Collegue-conſul, *He*, who ſhould have been the Preſerver of the Peace of the City, and protected the Magiſtrates in the exerciſe of their Offices, ſet the infamous *Vatinius*, at the head of his armed Mob, who firſt pelted *Bibulus* and his Retinue with Dirt and Stones, and at laſt drove him by force of Arms out of the *Forum*. This firſt Step, (by which this inſolent Trampler upon Laws plainly forfeited their Protection) let the Romans ſee what they had to expect. *Violence* is a Diſſolution of all legal Government; and Violence exerciſed in the Sanctuary of Juſtice, and againſt the Perſon of a Collegue of equal and regal Authority, had all the Aggravations of intolerable Inſult. He then proceeded, as one of the wildeſt Tribunes, to purſue thoſe Meaſures, for which the *Gracchi*, the *Sulpitii*, and other *Incendiaries* had formerly loſt their Lives; theſe Counſels did this *Conſul* now bend his whole Force to put in execution. The *Agrarian Laws*, or Diviſions of the public Domain to the Populace, had been the conſtant Source of Tumults and Broils, between the *Senate* and Commons, and drew along with them imminent ruin to the public Revenue. But *Ceſar*, not contented to favour what it was his duty ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe, openly, and *in his own Name* (like a hot-headed Tribune and not a Roman Conſul) propoſed this pernicious

Law

Law to bribe the Multitude at the expence of the Commonweal. The *Campanian Lands* (a rich Tract of Country in the Neighbourhood) had been reſerved from the time of their being firſt conquered, as the *Granary of Rome*, and the Fund of an unalienable *Revenue* for the Exigencies of the State. A Part of it, *the ſtarry Field* *, had been particularly conſecrated to ſacred Uſes, with Imprecations againſt the Man who ſhould preſume to put it to any other. But no Conſiderations, human or divine, that ſtood in the way of his Ambition, had any Weight with *CESAR:* Eſcorted by Vatinius and his Crew, he preferred a Law to divide theſe Lands among the poorer People, not by *Lot*, as uſual in ſuch caſes; *That* would have deprived him of the Power of ſpecially gratifying his Favourites; but at the Diſcretion of twenty Commiſſioners whom he ſelected for that Effect.

As if this had been a ſmall Wound to the Republic, he remitted to the Farmers of the Taxes and public Rents, (the next cleareſt Subſidy of the State) *one third Part* of all Payments then due upon any Branch of the Revenue; and when the Auction for the next Year's Farms came on, this ſupreme Magiſtrate publickly forbid them to make too high Offers for the Right of levying the new Taxes: In ſhort, to acquire proper Tools for his Purpoſes, he openly ſquandered the public Treaſure, and gave away to every Creature capable of ſerving him *whatever they pleaſed to aſk.*

We may reaſonably wonder how any ſingle Man, tho' ſupreme Magiſtrate, could do this; or what was become of the other Powers, and of the great Men who had paſſed thro' the higheſt Honours, and retained the Authority which their Virtue and public Spirit had acquired in their Exerciſe. The Anſwer is, that too too many of them were *Dependants* upon *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, now *Ceſar's* Friends, and (to their ſhame) open Abettors of the *Agrarian*-Law: — That the few who were not,

* Campus Stellatus.

were by downright Violence overborn by a Crew of *Slaves*, *Gladiators*, and other ſuch *Deſperadoes*, with *Vatinius* at their Head, who ſcoured the *Forum* when CESAR had any Job to perform; and if Stones, Sticks, and Dirt were not ſufficient, employed more cogent Weapons.

BIBULUS beat out of the *Forum*, as was ſaid, had not the Spirit nor Firmneſs to exert the *Conſular*-Power, collect a Band of his Clients, and repel force by force; but ſhutting himſelf up at home, he was contented with publiſhing Proclamations or *Edicts* againſt his Collegue's Uſurpations: which yet were ſo univerſally read and approved *, that they ſtung *Ceſar* to the quick; and made him ſo deſperate as to ſend *Vatinius* with his Ruffians to attack the Conſul's Houſe, in order to drag him out and murder him. This horrid Deed was attempted, and the Houſe of the chief Magiſtrate of Rome was furiouſly ſtormed; but being on his Guard, the Ceſarean Mob was repulſed, and the Infamy reſted on the Author.

L. LUCULLUS, a Man of elevated Genius and elegant Taſte, was *Pompey*'s chief Rival for military Reputation; and by the Fame of his Victories, the Splendor of his private Life and flowing Humanity, he had likewiſe great Weight in public Affairs. He thought it his Duty, with the Freedom and Dignity of a *Senator*, to teſtify his Indignation at *Ceſar*'s ruinous Procedure: But being a little obnoxious himſelf, as not having kept his Hands quite clean during his otherwiſe glorious Command in *Aſia*, CESAR upon that Foundation, accumulated ſuch a Heap of Calumnies, and terrified him with Accuſations for ſo many Crimes, that now grown old and loving Eaſe, he bought his Peace by *dropping the Oppoſition*.

IT was not ſo with *M. PORCIUS CATO*: A Lover of the Laws and a Friend to Virtue, muſt needs be an Enemy to *Julius Ceſar*. He ſaw his Deſigns from the beginning, perceived

* BIBULUS in coelo eſt.

CICER. ad Attic.

ceived his tyrannical Turn, and was his conſtant Adverſary: When he and the turbulent *Metellus* combined to paſs the Laws that made them both be degraded, it was CATO's inflexible Courage and Steadineſs that maintained the Struggle and gained the Victory: And now, when inſtead of *Pretor*, CESAR was *Conſul*, and ſupported by two powerfull Abettors, *Cato* nothing the leſs ſtood intrepidly up, expoſed the pernicious Tendency of his Management, and predicted the Perdition it would entail upon the Republic. It was then that the *inſolent Ceſar* commanded a Lictor to drag the good Man down from the *Roſtra*, and lead him away to Priſon. *Cato*, unmoved by the Injury, followed the Officer, but at the ſame time continued his Speech againſt the corrupt Alienation of the nobleſt Fund of the Common-wealth, and the ſtill more *deſtructive Purpoſe* which it was to ſerve. CATO *dragging to a Jail*, was a melancholy Spectacle to *Rome*: the *Senators*, the *Knights*, and all the *ſound* Part of the People, with heavy Hearts and dejected Looks, followed the Pattern of Virtue inſulted by the Patron of Vice. *Ceſar* in the mean time watched this Patriot's Behaviour, whether he would rather than go to Priſon, appeal to the People, call upon a *Tribune* to interceed, or give any Mark of Submiſſion: But ſeeing him go undaunted along, and reſolute to ſuffer any thing rather than bow to Tyranny, the ſuperior Worth of the Man, and the Marks of Diſpleaſure breaking from all Ranks, made at laſt *even Ceſar aſhamed*; ſo that he ſent one of his *mercenary Tribunes* to put a Negative upon his own Act, and take CATO out of the Hands of the *Lictor*.

M. TULLIUS CICERO, the Honour of Eloquence, and Model of a civil Magiſtrate, had by his Vigilance and Virtue ſaved the City from Fire and Maſſacre, and received from Rome, while yet free *, the glorious Appellation of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. The *Triumvirate* had uſed all means to

* ROMA Patrem Patriae *CICERONE M libera* dixit.

JUVENAL. Sat. viii.

to gain him to their Party, and he might have had what Share he pleaſed in the Government: But he was too good, and loved his Country too ſincerely, to enter into their Meaſures.—He ſtood upon his own *Dignity*, and kept aloof from the public Adminiſtration. CRASSUS, ſeldom a Friend to good Men, had been long his Adverſary; and as for CESAR, from his firſt Entry into Buſineſs, *Cicero* had been the ſecond Man who perceived what he was aiming at, and what kind of a Citizen he would prove. For when ſome were laughing at the Revelling and expenſive Feaſtings of the young *Julius*, as the effects of Folly and Debauchery, *Cicero* obſerving *what kind of People* he invited, and the *deſigning Addreſs* with which he managed theſe Entertainments, bid them not miſtake.—That Ceſar in all his Conduct and Way diſcovered an *ambitious tyrannical Spirit*, which portended no Good to the Common-wealth. But, ſaid he again, when I conſider *the nice Diſpoſition of his fine-dreſſed Hair, and ſee him ſcratch his Head with the Point of his Finger leſt he ſhould diſcompoſe his Curls, I can ſcarce let myſelf believe that ſuch a Head is hatching the horrid Deſign of deſtroying the Laws and Liberties of* ROME. Long before now that great man's Doubts were gone: *Ceſar* had fully *undeceived* him. He therefore applied with all his Art *to gain* POMPEY to the better Party, and make him withdraw from the illegal Confederacy. But either the Love of *preſent* Power, or of the young *JULIA Ceſar*'s Daughter, ſo intangled that otherwiſe good Man, that all *Cicero*'s Efforts proved ineffectual. But *Ceſar* perceiving him unſhaken in his Attachment *to the public Good*, and hearing that in pleading the Cauſe of his *quondam* Collegue *C. Antony*, now accuſed of OPPRESSION in his Province, he had taken the liberty *to bewail the unhappy State of the Times*, that very day, and within three hours of the Speech, he freed the abandoned *Clodius* of the Cloggs of the Law that hindered his becoming a Plebeian,—had his mock Adoption ratified by the People, and ſo qualified him to become a Tribunician-Tool, in order to ſend away CATO from the

the Common-wealth, and drive CICERO into Exile. *Clodius* did not fail to perform both theſe Services to his Patron, and ſome others of the ſame Nature, which facilitated *Ceſar*'s Purpoſes, and haſtened the public Ruin.

AFTER the Repeal of SYLLA's Conſtitutions, and the Reſtoration of the *Tribunician Power of diſtracting the State*, its chief Security lay in certain *Checks*, originally invented by NUMA, that prohibited the holding a popular Aſſembly, or enacting any thing of moment, either on Court-days *, or without the proper *Auguries*, or while an *Haruſpex* was waiting a *Sign from Heaven* †. Theſe *Checks* made a Part of their *political* as well as *religious Forms*, and had been ſeverally enacted into Laws, known by the Name of the *Elian* and *Fufian Statutes* ‡ from their Promulgators. Theſe as *Bars* in his Way, tho' under Pretence of increaſing *the Power of the People*, CESAR's *Tribune*, by one Law, or *Juſſion* of HIS Multitude, abrogated at once; and thereby broke down the Bulwarks of the Republic, warped the Conſtitution, and trampled upon Law and Religion together **: But as the *cenſorial* Power hung ſtill a Terror o'er their Heads, he added another *Decree of the People*, (that is, of his Mob of *Mercenaries* and *Slaves*) 'That it ſhould not be lawful for the 'CENSORS to eject any *Senator* out of the Senate, or put a Mark 'of Ignominy upon any *Roman Knight*, unleſs ſuch Senator or 'Knight

* *Dies faſti. Judicial Days* when the Pretor had *verba libera*. The Reaſon of the Law was to prevent the interfering of *public Buſineſs* with *private Cauſes*.

† Servare de Coelo. See Pag. 27——28.

‡ Leges——quae ſaepenumero *tribunitios furores* repreſſerunt.
M. T. CICERO in Vatin.

** Lex (CLODII) quae omnia jura Religionum, Auſpiciorum, Poteſtatum; omnes leges quae ſunt de jure et de tempore Legum rogandarum unâ Rogatione delevit.
M. T. CICERO. Orat. pro P. Sextio.

'Knight had been firſt accuſed before *the People*, and was con-'demned by the Judgment of *both* the CENSORS *.' Theſe Wounds were given to the State under the Eye of a ſtrange Pair of Conſuls, *C. Gabinius* a Creature of *Pompey*'s, and *L. Piſo*, Father in Law to *Ceſar*; who having thus ſet the Laws at nought, and inſulted their greateſt Friends, bethought himſelf of ſtill a *ſhorter* Way of getting rid of all theſe troubleſome Patriots at one Blow. For this Purpoſe, by immenſe Offers, he perſuaded one *Vettius* an Informer, who had given evidence againſt himſelf in the *Catiline-Plot*, and had ſmarted ſeverely for it, to make amends now, and *ſwear that the Chiefs of the Senate had been tampering with him to aſſaſſinate* POMPEY THE GREAT: He had him accordingly produced in the *Roſtra*, and examined before the whole People; where this well-inſtructed Puppet having according to bargain, named ſeveral *Patricians* of the firſt Rank †, there aroſe ſo violent a Suſpicion of Treachery, and ſuch a Clamour, that *Vettius* was hurled to Priſon, where it was thought his *new Patron*, deſpairing of Succeſs to the Plot, took care to have him poiſoned ‡, or ſtrangled by *Vatinius* **, that he might not give true Evidence of Subornation. It was thus *Seditions*, *Conſpiracies*, *Murders*, *Perjuries*, *Poiſonings*, when they could ſerve his Purpoſes, paſſed for nothing with JULIUS CESAR.

WHEN

* Ne quem CENSORES in Senatu legendo praeterirent, neve ignominiâ afficerent, niſi apud Pop. accuſatus atque utriuſque Cenſoris judicio condemnatus eſſet.
M. T. CICERO in PISON.

† M. Bibulus, L. Lucullus, C. Curio, Father and Son, L. Domitius, M. T. Cicero, &c.

‡ Intercepiſſe veneno indicem.
C. SUETON. in Caeſar.

** Fregeriſne in carcere cervices ipſi illi VETTIO.
M. T. CICERO. Orat. in Vatin.

WHEN by ſuch means as theſe, the greateſt and beſt Men were either ſent away, or driven from the public Aſſemblies, and the *Forum* filled with Diſorder and Violence *, the grand Attack was next to be made upon the *Conſtitution* †, and the way paved for future Thraldom. It had been foreſeen, and even foretold: for when *Ceſar*, contrary to the Senſe of all good Men, was forcing the Law for dividing the Patrimony of the Republic among the Populace, *Cato*, as if inſpired, ſaid openly, *That Diſſipation of the Property of the Common-wealth, however detrimental, was leſs pernicious than the* REQUITAL *which* Ceſar *would aſk of the PEOPLE.* ‡

FROM the beginning of the Republic, it had been its Happineſs, and the chief Cauſe of its amazing Growth, that the *Provinces* were under the immediate Direction of the *Roman* SENATE. In particular it was its Privilege to allot the *Conſular* Provinces, to chuſe the General, frame his Inſtructions, and give Orders to the Treaſury to iſſue the Sum neceſſary for the current Year. This fundamental Part of the Conſtitution now fell a Sacrifice to the *lawleſs* CONSUL; and to heighten the Indignity of it, by the hands of the moſt *impudent of his Tools*, VATINIUS, the ſame who was thought to have ſtrangled the *Plot-ſwearer* in Priſon. This truſty Perſon preferred a Rogation, that is, propoſed an Ordinance to the People *to deprive the Senate of the Power of diſpoſing of the Conſular Provinces, and by their own Authority to decern the* Ciſalpine Gaul, *with the Addition of* Illyricum, *and an Army of eighteen thouſand* Romans *for five Years to* C. JULIUS CESAR.

* ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ὁ συνάρχων τῷ Καίσαρι—πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευεν μὴ ΚΑΤΩΝΟΣ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀποθανεῖν.

Πλεῖαρχ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

† Impetus fit in *vacuam* Remp. CATO apud Salluſt.

‡ Φοβεῖσθε—οὐ τὴν νομὴν τ᾽ χώρας, ἀλλ᾽ ὃν ἀνὴ ταυτῆς ἀπαιτήσουσι ΜΙΣΘΟΝ. ὁ ἀνὴ. ΚΑΤΩΝ.

Here at laſt the Poiſon, long latent in the Boſom of the *Roman* Conſtitution, appeared in all its Virulence. The *Democracy* prevailed; the worſt and wildeſt Part of the State, with an ambitious wicked Man to prompt them, over-bore the beſt; and put a Sword into his hand to cut their own Throats. The Province picked out by the deſigning *Ceſar* had three properties: it was one of the *richeſt* of the Empire, abounding particularly with Gold; it was full of a hardy warlike People, and had therefore a ſtanding Army annexed to it; and laſtly, it was the neareſt to *Italy*, and the Seat of Dominion *. But as theſe Qualities could not content the new Governor, he coveted likewiſe the adjacent Province of the *farther Gaul* †, as not ſo throughly pacified, ſurrounded with unconquered People, and therefore affording more Materials for training his Legions to fighting, and feeding them with Plunder. This he would likewiſe have ſought and obtained in the ſame illegal Way, had not the *Senate*, to prevent the eſtabliſhing ſuch an Encroachment upon their power as a *Precedent*, thought proper to prevent his Petition; and contrary to CATO's Opinion, who ſaid, *They were themſelves putting the Tyrant in poſſeſſion of the Citta-del* ‡, decreed him likewiſe the *farther Gaul* for the ſame Term of Years.

SUDDEN Paſſions are apt to reveal Secrets, and eſpecially a Flow of Joy lays open the Temper, and unveils the Heart. *Ceſar*, tho' a Maſter of Diſſimulation **, could not contain himſelf

* Ego Provinciam GALLIAM, Senatus auctoritate, *exercitu* et *pecuniâ* inſtructam et ornatam——in concione depoſui, reclamante Pop. Rom.

M. T. CICERO. Orat. in PISON.

† Gallia tranſalpina, ſeu comata.

‡ Προλέγοντος Κάτωνος, ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν τον ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΝ αὐτὸι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψήφοις ἱδρύσασιν.

Πλουταρχ. ΚΑΤΩΝ.

** Δεινὸς δ' ὢν ὁ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ὑποκρίνασθαι.

ΑΠΠ. Εμφ. Βιϐ. β.

ſelf upon being inveſted with this great Command; but in a full *Senate*, took the Liberty to tell the Fathers, '*That having* '*now, to the Confuſion of his Enemies, obtained his utmoſt Wiſh, he* '*would from that Day forward trample them all under his Feet* *.' Such was his Turn to Inſult and Violence! Nor did he fail in his Endeavours to make good his Words.

For having by the Influence of the *unhappy Triumvirate* obtained a Prolongation of his Command for *other five* Years, he employed the *ten* in modelling, and exerciſing an Army by War after War, not *for*, but *againſt* the Common-wealth that gave it him. At firſt he acted with ſome retention; eſpecially while the *Swiſs*, *Piedmonteſe* and *Germans* employed him in ſecuring his own *Province*: But after the Renewal of his Command for the laſt five Years, throwing off all Reſtraint, and contemning the Law of Nations, he abſtained from no War however unjuſt, nor ſpared any State, either in confederacy or at variance with *Rome*, where there was a Proſpect of Profit and Plunder. This Injuſtice and Cruelty roſe to ſuch a pitch, that the Senate paſſed an Act to ſend Commiſſioners to inquire into the State of the *neareſt* and *farther Gauls*; and there were ſome Senators who gave it as their Opinion, '*That* Julius Ceſar *ſhould be deli-* '*vered up to the States, on whom he had unjuſtly made War, as a* '*common Enemy.*'

The chief *Uſe* therefore he made of his Province, was the ſame that a *Laniſta* or *Maſter-Gladiator*, makes of his *School*: the Swordſman teaches his Slaves to handle their Weapons, and inures them to Wounds, againſt the *ſolemn Day* on which they were to fight in good earneſt for their Lives, as a Spectacle to the People; and *Ceſar* trained his Troops to fighting, and inured them to Booty and Bloodſhed, againſt the *grand Conteſt*

* Invitis et gementibus Adverſariis, adeptum ſe quae concupiſſet; proinde ex eo omnium capitibus inſultaturum.

C. Sueton. Julius.

ſhould come on between *him* and the *Common-wealth* *. For this terrible Purpoſe he took theſe effectual Methods. In picking his Soldiers, he valued neither Family, Fortune, nor Manners; but choſe them ſolely for their *bodily Strength*; and compoſed a motely Army of *Gauls* and *Germans*, mingled with the Refuſe of *Rome*. As for his Officers, he wiſhed the ſuperior ones to be *Sons of* the *beſt* Families, if at the ſame time they were *indigent*, *debauched* and *daring*; but *for* the Subalterns, the *Tribunes*, and eſpecially the *Centurions*, (the Nerves of the Legions) he would have none but the moſt ſturdy hardened Cut-throats that could be found. In *theſe* he delighted; *theſe* he careſſed and cheriſhed, and of *theſe* he boaſted as his Strength and Pride.

THE next *Uſe* he made of his Command, was inſtead of a diſintereſted Adminiſtration, to amaſs *Treaſure* in order to *bribe*. This he did by *plundering* the richeſt TEMPLES of his Province, where the Piety of Ages had accumulated *Gifts* to the Gods, and by razing and pillaging CITIES for no Treſpaſs but their Wealth. In his firſt Conſulſhip, when public Guardian of the Effects of the State, both ſacred and civil, ſeeing an uſeleſs Maſs of Gold conſecrated in the Capitol, he thought proper to ſteal three thouſand Pound Weight of it, and lay down as much gilt Braſs in its ſtead. The Man who could do this in ROME, under the Eye of the *Senate*, what would he ſtick at in *Gaul* at the Head of a rapacious Army? He pillaged to ſuch Purpoſe as not only to extinguiſh his own enormous Debt, but ſo glutted *Italy* and the Provinces with *Temple-gold*, as to exchange a Pound Weight of that Metal for nine Pound Weight of Silver Coin, whereas formerly the Exchange between Gold and Silver was at twelve and a half; a Fall that is amazing and almoſt incredible. Yet it muſt have been ſo; for not contented with plundering, he took every Method of making Money: He

ſold

* Σὺ δὲ τὲς Γερμανὲς καὶ Γαλάτας καὶεπολέμησας ἐπὶ τὴν παῖριδα τὴν σεαυῖῆ παρασκευαζόμενος· ἔ τί γένοιτ' ἂν χεῖρον, ἢ μιαφόνιερον.

IOTΛIAN. Καισαρ.

ſold the Roman *Alliance*, and even *Crowns* and *Kingdoms* to the higheſt Bidders; as a Specimen of which, he extorted from the unhappy PTOLOMY alone, the ejected King of *Egypt*, in his *own* and *Pompey*'s Name, near *ſix thouſand Talents*, a Sum amounting to a Million and a half of our Money *. Afterwards, when he came, in his natural Progreſſion to riſe in open Rebellion againſt his Country, the moſt notorious Rapine and avowed Sacrilege were the Funds, out of which he defrayed the Expence of his Mercenaries, and the Oſtentation of his Triumphs.

IF any one is ſurpriſed, how it was poſſible for a Man of ruined Fortune and profligate Manners to raiſe himſelf thus, and ſoar above ſo many *great Romans*, his Co-temporaries, let them firſt recollect the fatal *Coalition*, the unhappy *Triumvirate*, on whoſe Shoulders the worſt of the *three* was advanced to an Equality with the beſt; and by whoſe Influence, the *greateſt* Men in Rome were bewitched and deceived †, and the *worthieſt* not believed ‡. Join to this the *Character* of the reſtleſs *CESAR*, and the *Conjuncture* of the Times, or *Field* he had to diſplay it. He had a moſt conſummate Capacity in every kind of Buſineſs, but eſpecially in War. This was ſupported by a Keenneſs of Temper, and Intenſeneſs of Application almoſt inconceivable, and ſmoothed over by the moſt artfull Diſſimulation and ſeeming Affability that ever adorned the Manners of a great Man. He had all his Paſſions at command,—except that one which domineered in chief, AMBITION; to which he *conſtantly ſacrificed* all the reſt, except a little extraordinary homage that was now and then extorted from him by intruding LOVE **. But Ambition, lawleſs Ambition was the ſupreme Idol:

* If C. Suetonius, a Writer of great Veracity and Judgment, mean the ordinary *Attic* Talent, the Sum will be *L.* 1,150,000 *ſter.* But if he mean the *Egyptian* Money, it will be *L.* 1,548,000 *ſter.*

† POMPEY, CRASSUS. ‡ CATULUS, COTTA, MARCELLUS, CATO.

** Πλανώμενον δὲ πολλὰ, καὶ περιτρέχοντα τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ τελευτήσας ὁ μέγας ΑΡΗΣ, ἢ τὴν ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐκαλλιεάτην. IOYΛΙΑΝ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΣ.

Idol *: no Conſideration in public, no Relation in private Life, but ſtooped to *this*. For *this* he married, for *this* he gave in Marriage, and for *this* he divorced. For *this* he kept or violated his Faith, cultivated or broke up Friendſhips, was merciſull or hard-hearted; and in ſhort, to *this* he directed every Step of his Conduct, and to *this* every other Intereſt fell a Sacrifice.

THESE extraordinary Talents met with the *proper Scene* whereon to diſplay themſelves, and exert their utmoſt Influence. The CITY ROME was then Miſtreſs of the weſtern World: her Commands were Kingdoms, and Places of Truſt implied a Juriſdiction over the Lives and Properties of Nations. It was not an abſolute Empire, governed like the eaſtern Monarchies by the Caprice of a ſingle Sovereign; but a FREE STATE, where every Man ſaid and did what he pleaſed within the Verge of Law, and made the beſt of his Talents, Friends and Intereſt for raiſing himſelf, and ſupporting his Party. Its MANNERS were now arrived at the proper Temperature, *to give handles* of all kinds to an artfull inſinuating Man to acquire Dependencies. Had *Ceſar* been born two hundred years ſooner, with the ſame aſpiring reſtleſs Turn, he had probably made the ſame Exit with *Sp. Caſſius* or *M. Manlius*, and been hurled headlong with his towering Deſigns from the Top of the *Tarpeian Rock*. His Thefts and Rapine would have made him odious; and his Largeſſes made in conſequence of them would have been held in contempt by the great and glorious Men, who could hold their own Plough the day they were created *Dictator*, or ſup upon boiled Turnep, when they commanded a *victorious Army*. There were no enormous Debts then among the Citizens to be diſcharged,—no Eſtate run out by a ſpend-thrift Heir to be redeemed; nor criminal expenſive Paſſions to be indulged.

THE

* Εισήει πρῶτος ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἰρίσαι τῷ ΔΙΙ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ. αυτοϑι.

THE Preſent of a *fine Villa* (had there been any ſuch) would have been held cheap by the Inhabitants of a *thatched City*, and even the helping one to a *fine Woman*, had it been practicable, would have procured more infamy than favour in a State where *Divorce*, tho' eaſy, had not happened for *five hundred years*.

BUT now, as there was no extravagant Paſſion or Pleaſure but was indulged in *Rome*, ſo there was not one but led its hundreds and its thouſands, and tyed them faſt to the Man who could beſt afford the Means of its Gratification. The young profuſe Patricians, the prodigal and luxurious old, the turbulent Tribunes, the rapacious Veterans, and mercenary Herd of the People, were all at the Devotion of a Leader, who fought *Commands* for no other purpoſe but *to plunder the Public*, and plundered for no other end but to *laviſh it upon them* that they might renew or prolong his Commiſſion.

THUS JULIUS CESAR *grew great:* by collecting all the vicious and indigent into a Body, and encouraging his Creatures in Riot and Violence *: By this means the Manners of the Romans went from evil to worſe, and a corrupt Faction enabled him firſt to overturn their CIVIL Conſtitution. It was then the Bulwarks of the Republic were broken down;—the *Elian* and *Fufian Laws* repealed, the Checks of the *Augurs* removed, the *Tribunician* Fury let looſe in the *Forum*, and (which was the mortal Stab) the Authority of the *Fathers* ſet at nought; their Juriſdiction over the *Provinces* wreſted from them, the *Roman Knights* deluded into a Separation from the *Senate*, while the worthleſs Multitude ruled the greateſt Affairs of the Empire. By *their* Authority, not the *Senate's*, CESAR had held the Government of *Gaul* for ten Years. The Time was expired, and the Term come when he ought to have diſmiſſed his Army, and returned

* Habebat hoc omnino CAESAR; quem planè perditum ære alieno egentemque, ſi eundem *nequam* hominem *audacemque* cognôrat, hunc in familiaritatem libentiſſimè recipiebat.

M. T. CICERO. Philip. II.

returned a triumphal Senator to *Rome*. But this was too humble a State for his Ambition to ſtoop to: he could not think of becoming one of the *Fabii*, the *Emilii*, the *Marcelli* or *Scipios*, theſe Princes of the Senate and Patriots of *Rome*: he could not reſolve to diſband his Army, as the *Great* POMPEY had often done, and truſt himſelf to the Laws of his Country. Wherefore, taking the Pretence of the *Interceſſion* of ſome of the Tribunes in his Favour, being rejected, he determined to *diſobey* the ACT OF THE SENATE recalling him from his Government, and *riſe in Rebellion againſt his native Country*. He marched ſuddenly at the head of his Gallic-Legions towards ROME, paſſed his Boundary the *Rubicon*, and overwhelmed the Italic Provinces like an Inundation. POMPEY for *Power*, and CATO for *Liberty*, ſeconded by the *Senate*, the *Knights*, (undeceived too late) and all the *uncorrupt* Part of the *People*, oppoſed the Invader: But after a cruel and bloody Struggle of five Years, the *plunder-fed Army*, which he had been training in *Gaul*, for nine before, got the better of the *Laws*, and of all the great and good Men who ſtood by them. Supported by *ten veteran Legions*, compoſed of Men of no Principles, inſatiate Deſires, and inured to Blood, JULIUS CESAR *dared to point his Sword at his Parent's Throat*. He beſieged her *Towns*, trampled upon her *Laws*, cut off her *Conſuls*, ſlew her *Pretors*, purſued her *Senators* from city to city, and land to land, untill he ſet his unhallowed foot on the Neck of Freedom, and laid ROME's Glory in the Duſt. In the ſanguinary Fields of *Ilerda*, *Segro* and *Dyrrachium*, and the more bloody ones of *Pharſalia*, *Thapſus* and *Munda*, he put upwards of an hundred thouſand * Roman Citizens to the Edge of the Sword, and almoſt extirpated the *Domitii*, the *Metelli*, the *Emilii*, the *Pompeys*, the *Scipios*, the *Catos*, thoſe ſenatorial

* CN. LENTULUS, L. GELLIUS CENSS. Luſtro condito, cenſa ſunt Civium capita quadringenta quinquaginta millia. CAESAR cenſum egit, quo cenſa ſunt Civium capita centum quinquaginta millia.

T. LIVII Epitom. Lib. XCVIII. et CXV.

ſenatorial Names, the Pride of *Rome*, and Princes of the Earth. For during the five fatal Years that the unnatural Conteſt laſted, he ravaged the Roman Provinces, razed their Cities, pillaged their Allies, put the three Parts of the known World in Confuſion, and laid every thing open to Rapine, Devaſtation and Violence: At the end of which returning Victor, he uſurped the ſupreme Power, and made them feel the Truth of his memorable Saying, *that the Common-wealth was now nothing; but an empty Name without either Form or Subſtance:* He aſſumed the Dictatorſhip for Life; and before he had exerciſed it many Months, he was killed as a Tyrant in the Senate-houſe by an united Body of Patriots, with the moſt virtuous Man in ROME at their Head.

AFTER ſuch a Shock as the *Roman* Conſtitution, long undermined by Luxury, had received by a violent Uſurpation, and by the ſevere Remedy applied for its Recovery, the State could ſcarcely avoid falling into new Diſorders; in which as *Ceſar*'s grand Nephew *C. Octavius*, better known by the Name of AUGUSTUS, bore a principal Part, we muſt now change our Stile, and enter into a greater Detail in the ſubſequent Part of the *Memoirs*.

HITHERTO, *SIR*, I have endeavoured to lay open the admirable Compoſition of the ROMAN-REPUBLIC; and in ſome meaſure to *account* for ROME's raiſing her Head among all her Rivals, foiling the greateſt Kings, and humbling mighty contending States, untill ſhe became poſſeſſed of the faireſt Provinces in *Aſia* and *Africa*; and of almoſt all *Europe*. To ſum up the account in a Sentence, it was a mighty *CONJUNCTURE*, that produced the Miſtreſs of Nations, *ancient* ROME; it was the united Effort of various concurring Cauſes, that led

her firſt from *Confuſion* to *Order*, then from *Slavery* to *Freedom*; afterwards thro' *Poverty* opened her way to *Virtue*, and thence conducted her to *Conqueſt* and *Empire*. Theſe Steps are ſo ſtrictly connected in the Nature of Things, that we may venture to propheſy, 'that untill *A* CITY, ſeated in ſuch a *Soil* and *Cli-* 'mate, founded at ſuch a *Period*, and bleſt with ſuch a *Con-* 'ſtitution as *Rome* enjoyed—ſtruggle with *Difficulties*, and ſur- 'mount *Dangers*, ſuch as ROME ſtruggled with and ſurmount- 'ed, we can never hope to ſee the *Roman Manners* revived, nor 'conſequently expect the ſame *Career of Victory* and *Extent of* 'Dominion.'

THE moſt delightful View of a great Society is its *riſing State*, and is indeed the *bright Side* of human Affairs; but to conſider the *Reverſe*, tho' leſs pleaſing may be more profitable; and in our preſent Proſperity, perhaps the moſt neceſſary to GREAT BRITAIN: as the View of a Friend's Face, made *ghaſtly* thro' Intemperance, is the moſt effectual Caution againſt the like Debauchery. For with equal Certainty we may affirm, 'That as 'ſoon as that conquering People *become avaricious, oppreſſive, fla-* 'gitious and unjuſt, they are then on the Brink of Slavery, and 'haſtening to their Diſſolution.' I have therefore attentively traced both the remote and immediate Cauſes of the *Roman Degeneracy*, and deduced their gradual Operation, untill they accompliſhed the Ruin of the Common-wealth. They were chiefly *two*, of different natures, but tending to the ſame Point: the firſt was *the original Flaw* in the Conſtitution of their Government, where *the laſt Reſort of Power*, both *legiſlative* and *executive*, was vague and deſultory; which enabled the ſeditious *Tribunes* to introduce the wild *Democracy*; the ſecond was the irreparable * *Loſs of their Morals*. When theſe came to *co-operate*, they introduced that avowed Corruption and Effrontery in Vice which

* *Nec vera* VIRTUS, *quum ſemel excidit,*
Curat reponi deterioribus. HORAT.

which forged the *ſeveral Links* of the Chain, that wanted but a deſigning Head and artfull Hand to join them together, and fix it upon the Neck of the Republic.

AGAINST the *firſt* of theſe, it muſt give joy to every true BRITON to think, that we are happily ſecured by our *admirable* CONSTITUTION; which muſt be openly overturned before we can either fall under abſolute *Monarchy*, or popular *Anarchy*; for the Sway of the MULTITUDE * is little better. But who will inſure a rich and flouriſhing Nation againſt the fatal Influences of the *laſt*?—I hope two ſingular Circumſtances in *our* Caſe, wholly different from that of *ancient* Rome, will contribute to ſave us from that Deſtroyer of States, Families and Individuals, *Immorality*. The firſt is our *Situation* with reſpect to the *other Powers* of *Europe*; which neceſſarily requires *Vigilance* and *Vigour*, and abſolutely forbids our giving ourſelves up to the ſame *Supineneſs* and *Riot* that enervated ROME after the Demolition of her Rival †: and next, the Support given to *Religion*, and if I may ſo term it, the PUBLIC-LEADING taken in *Probity* and *Virtue*. While *theſe* are not only recommended from the higheſt Authority in the Nation, and on the moſt ſolemn occaſions ‡, but likewiſe enforced by the greateſt Examples,—while Men of Worth and Honour are entruſted with the ſeveral Branches of the Adminiſtration, *Magnificence* and *Wealth* will be *Servants* to VIRTUE and the PUBLIC-GOOD: for tho' the Paſſage be ſwift and ſlippery, there is no neceſſary unavoidable Connexion between *Riches* and *Vice*, or between *Grandeur* and *Immorality*. In the hands of the *truly good*, POWER and WEALTH become the happy Inſtruments of rewarding Worth, and raiſing Merit; of relieving undeſerved Diſtreſs, of diffuſing Felicity at preſent, and leaving Monuments of public Spirit for Ages to come. Give

* ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΚΕΦΑΛΟΝ. † CARTHAGE.

‡ See the Series of his Majeſty's Speeches from the Throne to the Parliament, and eſpecially in November 1751.

me leave, SIR, to dwell a little upon the pleaſing Thought, of the *Continuance of the Liberty and Proſperity of our Country*, in which you can claim ſo great a Share, and in whoſe Service you bear ſo eminent a Part. Your early Introduction into Affairs,—the happy Talents you poſſeſs, which I will oblige you (*it is the only way* I CAN) by not enumerating,—the Steadineſs with which, amidſt domeſtic Factions and foreign Broils, you have purſued the *true Intereſts* of Britain, and your inviolate Regard to her *Conſtitution*, as they muſt qualify you to judge of the PLAN of a *ſimilar* Government, ſo they intitle you to the moſt public Gratitude.

WITH great Reaſon did an accompliſhed Gentleman and elegant Writer * in the COURT OF AUGUSTUS, complain, that his Co-temporaries, ſwallowed up in Admiration of Antiquity, did little Juſtice to the Living:—With equal Reaſon may WE complain, that a SOLON, for example, ſhould be celebrated for enacting the ΣΕΙΣΑΧΘΕΙΑ, or Relief of *Athenian* Debt.—That ARATUS ſhould be applauded, for ſatisfying the claſhing Claims of a ſmall City, *Sicyon*.—That CICERO is admired for relieving from accumulated Intereſts, a few of the *Aſiatic-Towns*.—Juſt indeed, and well-grounded is the Praiſe beſtowed upon their Conduct and Humanity: But can we frankly acquieſce in this Acknowledgement, and yet ſee in our own Times a promiſing Step taken towards redreſſing the Affairs of a *great* and *powerfull People*, (the happieſt, if they knew it, that inhabit the Earth) a Step laid with *Maſtery*, and conducted with *Spirit*, without a gratefull Reſentment?

IT ſeldom indeed happens that *Eminence* is exempted from *Envy*, which follows it almoſt as naturally as a Shadow does the Body: But ſuperior Merit, and genuine Worth, like a thriving Tree, never fail in the end to choak the Brambles that infeſt their Roots; and in the ſame manner, *Truth* preſerved in Promiſes, *Candour* in Conteſts, *Moderation* in Power, and *Mildneſs*

* HORATII Ep. I. Lib. II.

neſs under unmerited Oppoſition, will ever diſtinguiſh Mr. *PELHAM*'s *private* Character; — As *Faith* in Treaties, *Firmneſs* in Dangers, a ſacred Regard to the *Laws*, and the ever memorable Service done to BRITAIN, *the alleviating the Load of her Debts, by lowering the Intereſt, and at the ſame time raiſing her Credit; will be the permanent Honours of* HIS ADMINISTRATION.

THERE is ſomething truly noble in *private* Beneficence: But *public Services* are of a ſtill more exalted Nature; not only as they include the Happineſs of Millions, but as they muſt be frequently done, like the divine Favours, to the *evil* and *unthankfull*. *It is a Kingly thing*, ſaid once a great Prince, *to do good and be ill ſpoken off*; and it is a Deſtiny ſo inſeparable from eminent Men in a *free State*, that, like PERICLES, (a real Patriot) they ſhould be ſuſpicious of the Acclamations of the giddy Multitude. By this means Medicine may be extracted from the Poiſon of virulent Pens, and their Obloquy turned into a Panegyric on the Laws and Miniſtry: Foreigners bred in the Subordination of Slavery are ſhocked at the *ſturdy* Demeanour of the *Britiſh Vulgar*, which they call *Rudeneſs* and *Brutality*; and the loweſt Tool of State abroad, is amazed at the Licentiouſneſs he obſerves here, in ſpeaking and writing againſt our Betters *. That this is frequently done from the worſt and meaneſt Motives, is paſt all doubt: But at the ſame time, tho' a Blemiſh in a beautifull Body, it is a ſure Mark both of *political Liberty*, and of the *greateſt Lenity* in the Government.

SUCH, in effect, is the Order of Things, and ſuch the chequered Condition of all human Affairs. Weeds ſpring rankeſt in the richeſt Soils, and the ſame prolific Clime produces the powerfull Drug and deadly Poiſon. —— Neither is *ineſtimable* LIBERTY, or any other Bleſſing, given quite pure to Men, except

* *MINUTES* of *Monſ. Menager*'s Negotiations at the COURT OF ENGLAND, Pag. 87——91.

except that divine one of *doing Good*: *there* alone is Joy unmixed, and *there* is Pleaſure without alloy. Happy the Man, and thrice happy the great Miniſter, who takes this for his Aim, in the Exerciſe of his Power, in the Employment of his Talents, and Influence of his Example!——Who directs his firſt Care to the Preſervation of LIBERTY, the prime of the Gifts of Heaven,—next in deviſing *ſalutary Laws*, ſuch as have been yearly adding to the *Britiſh Acts* for a conſiderable Tract of Years; and laſtly, in promoting Induſtry, the Strength of a Nation, and ſuppreſſing Idleneſs the Source of Miſery.

THE happy Effects of the Laws lately made for theſe valuable Purpoſes, are viſible over all *Britain*, in the Spirit of Improvement, which they have excited, in Trade, Agriculture and Manufactures, and which they ſupport by *Premiums* and great Encouragement: But one of them, I am apt to think is *peculiar* to our Country, which reflects great Honour on its Adviſers, and calls upon me to ſelect it, as its Influence is chiefly viſible in the North-End of our Iſland. It is the beneficent Act, that has ſet a great Body of Men, formerly Slaves, *free againſt their Will*, by relieving them from a heavy *Vaſſalage*, exempting them from *inferior Juriſdictions*, and putting them under the *immediate* Protection of the Laws. In other Countries, it is too often the Study of their Governors, how to ſtrip the Subjects of the few Privileges left them by preceding Princes: In *ours*, it is their Pleaſure to ſet the enſlaved *free*, to diffuſe Independency; and, as if the *Proffer* of ſuch Happineſs were not enough, to allure the *ignorant* and *ſeduced*, by the *gentleſt* of all Methods, *Benefits* and eaſily obtained *Rewards* (provided in a ſubſequent Act *) to accept of the national Bleſſing. A Strain of *the trueſt Wiſdom* and *Humanity!*

To whom therefore could a DRAUGHT of the *Roman Empire* (a State founded on Freedom) be ſo fitly addreſſed, and to whoſe Judgment could a COMPARISON of its *Conſtitution* with

our

* A BILL for annexing certain *forfeited Eſtates*, &c.

our own be ſo properly ſubmitted, as to the Man who has the genuine Honour of leading in the Councils of ſuch a Nation as *Great Britain?* Let me not ill deſerve his Goodneſs in *reviewing* the DRAUGHT, by concealing ſuch Condeſcenſion, or ſuppreſſing the Pride juſtly inſpired by Mr. PELHAM's Approbation. Encouraged by theſe, *SIR!* I proceed to give the Hiſtory of a COURT, which, by turning from a Courſe of Violence and Oppreſſion to the *Maxims* you purſue, and to the *Moderation* you practiſe, became beneficent and humane; and, if not ſtrictly virtuous in private Life, at leaſt decent in public, and eminent in *Politeneſs* and *Learning*.

To this *laſt*, indeed, it chiefly owes its ſhining Character: The *Prince* himſelf, and the Greateſt in the Empire ſetting an Example in their own Writings, and vying with one another in patronizing the Men of Learning and Genius; who in return, retrieved him from Vice and Miſery in the Flower of his Life, and have rendered him immortal to Poſterity: Neither will it, I hope, SIR, be remembered to *your* diſhonour, 'that amidſt 'a Proſtitution of empty Praiſe, *YOU* choſe to patronize a Pen 'untaught to flatter, devoted to VIRTUE, and to her beſt Friends, 'to *Liberty* and to *Learning:* whilſt it is my peculiar Happi-'neſs to have been favoured by a great and good Man, whom 'I can equally revere in a public, as love in a private Capaci-'ty, and bleſs myſelf in the happy Conjunction of *Britain's* '*Friend* and my *own Benefactor.*'

BOOK

BOOK IV.

AS *JULIUS CESAR* owed his Grandeur to the Populace and Army, that is, to the moſt worthleſs Party in the Common-wealth, and had ingratiated himſelf with his Creatures by all manner of Indulgences *, his being killed as *a Tyrant* was the greateſt Misfortune that could befall them. In return for their Services, he had beſtowed Honours and Commands upon them, often irregular in themſelves, and for the moſt part, before the time permitted by the Laws. Theſe ſacred Bonds of Society he broke thro' at pleaſure; and after the Defeat of the young POMPEYS, had acquired a ſovereign Contempt of every thing that remained uneffaced of the Roman Republic. The *Army* was his Pride, and his Truſt was in the *veteran Officers*. Theſe, tho' of the Dregs of the People, or even Foreigners, *Gauls* and *Germans* †, he had thruſt into the Lands and Honours of the murdered Nobility. ‡

AT

* Tum *reorum* aut *obaeratorum*, aut *prodigae juventutis* ſubſidium unicum ac promptiſſimum erat (CAESAR). SUETON. in Julio, § 27.

CAESAR qui ſolet infimorum hominum amicitias ſibi *quâlibet impensâ* adjungere. CAEL. ad Cicer. Ep.

† Redeo ad TEBASSOS, SCAEVAS, FRANCONES: hos tu exiſtimas confidere ſe illa habituros ſtantibus nobis?—Pacis iſti ſcilicet amatores, ac non potius latrocinii auctores.

CICER. ad Attic. Lib. XIV. Ep. 10.

‡ Diſcrucior SEXTULII fundum a verberone *Curtilio* poſſideri: quod cum dico, de *toto genere* dico. Ibid. Ep. 6.

Verſor in naufragiis, et bonorum direptionibus; et video (optimatûm) fortunas diſſipari. Id. ad Nigid. Figul.

AT the firſt News of his Death, the Partners in his Guilt were in the utmoſt Conſternation, and expected every one the ſame Treatment with their Maſter; but they had time to recover from their Fright by the gentle Procedure of the Friends to Liberty. As ſoon as the Blow was ſtruck in the Senate-houſe, M. BRUTUS ſtepping forward, called aloud upon *Tullius Cicero*, and eſſayed to make a Speech to the *Senate:* But the Members were ſo terrified, that not one of them would ſtay to hear him; ſuch a Pannic had ſeized them, that ſeveral were cruſhed to death in preſſing thro' the Doors of the Senate-houſe. *Brutus* therefore and *Caſſius*, with the *Band of Patriots*, followed out to the Street; and putting a CAP, the Enſign of *Freedom*, upon the top of a Lance, with their Swords ſtill in their Hands, they proclaimed LIBERTY TO THE ROMANS: they never doubted but the PEOPLE would rouze at the *Sound*, ruſh into the *Forum*, reſume their high-valued Rights, and applaud them as their *Deliverers*. But the *pulling down of a Tyrant* is too mighty a Thought to find eaſy admittance into vulgar Minds; and in this Caſe was attended with too many *ſtartling Circumſtances*, to leave them the full exerciſe of their Reaſon, or the ability of diſtinguiſhing their Benefactors: A general Terror had ſeized the City at the firſt rumour, as if they had expected a Maſſacre. The Courts were deſerted, the Markets emptied, the Shops were ſhut up; every body ran home, and barricaded their Doors, as if an Enemy had maſtered the Walls.

UNDER this Diſappointment, *Brutus* and his *Friends*, reſolved for their Security to betake themſelves to the *Capitol*, and wait what Event the Night might produce in their favour; making no queſtion but the SENATE would zealouſly declare for them, when its Members ſhould recover their Spirits, and venture to hold an Aſſembly. But it was not the ſame Meeting it was wont to be.

THAT *grand Council*, and indeed every Branch of the Common-wealth *, had been either corrupted by *Julius Ceſar*; or, whom it was not in his power ſecretly to corrupt, he had openly deſtroyed and put to the Sword. This had made a lamentable Change both upon the Appearance and Subſtance of the Roman State. One of their chief Authors affirms, 'That the 'high *Spirit* of the ancient Common-wealth, and all the Won-'ders performed under the Conſular-Government, were owing 'to the Virtue and Vigour of a *few* great Men, who animated 'their Councils and conducted their Enterprizes.' What a diſmal Reverſe then, muſt the Loſs not of *a few*, but of almoſt *all the great Men*, Friends to the Conſtitution, make upon that once auguſt Aſſembly, the SENATE of ROME? For now, the beſt and braveſt of its Members, had either fallen in the Field fighting for their Liberties †, or had afterwards fallen upon their Swords when ſtript of them ‡; and the thin Reſiduo of theſe Citizens, were then in exile by the Uſurper. Yet the greater Part of thoſe who bore the Name of *Senator*, having ſtill a warm Side to the better Party, would have acted with Vigour, if another Conſideration had not tyed up their Hands.

CESAR, after his Uſurpation, when the Buſtle of his Triumphs was over, ſoon grew weary of ROME. The Faces of ſo

* Quid eſt enim non ita affectum, ut id non *deletum* extinctumque eſſe fatea-re? Circumſpice omnia membra Reip. quae notiſſima tibi ſunt, nullum profecto reperies quod non fractum debilitatumque ſit.

CICER. Ep. ad Lucceium.

† ——CAESAR,
In plebem vetat ire manus, monſtratque SENATUM,
Scit cruor Imperii qui ſit, quae viſcera legum;
Unde petat ROMAM—permiſta ſecundo
Ordine nobilitas, venerandaque corpora ferro
Urgentur: caedunt *Lepidos*, caeduntque *Metellos*,
Corvinoſque ſimul *Torquataque* nomina, Legum
Saepe duces, ſummoſque hominum.——

LUCAN. Lib. VII.

‡ Scipio, Cato, Petreius, &c.

ſo many Men of the firſt Families, whoſe Fathers, Brothers, or deareſt Friends he had put to death, were troubleſome Objects: the Spirit diſcovered by the two Tribunes *Flavius* and *Marullus*, in puniſhing thoſe who had put *Crowns* upon his Statues, piqued him more than the thing was worth: and the ill Succeſs of his chief Tool *M. Antony*'s Attempt at the *Lupercal Games, to crown him King of* Rome, *as if by Command of the* PEOPLE, gave him a diſguſt at the whole City. He had thoughts of removing to ancient TROY, and draining *Rome* of its Wealth and Splendor, by making the other the *Seat of the Empire*. At laſt he reſolved to leave the Town, and return to his favourite Exerciſe WAR; firſt to chaſtiſe the *Barbarians*, who during the civil Conteſt had made Incurſions into *Macedon*, and to conquer that wide Country (now the hereditary *Auſtrian* Dominions) called by the Romans the upper and lower *Pannonias:* from thence he was to march eaſtward, paſs the *Helleſpont*, avenge the Death of his old Friend *M. Craſſus* upon the *Parthians*, and wipe off the Ignominy of that fatal Defeat. He was within a few days of his Departure; and to gratify as many of his Dependents as poſſible, he had not only put them into the Offices regularly vacant at that time, but contrary to *Law* and *Practice*, he had both multiplied theſe Offices, and named Succeſſors to every Honour in the Common-wealth, ſome for two, ſome for three, and ſome for five Years to come *. *P. Dolabella*, tho' a very young Man, was, upon the Merit of having followed him in the civil War, and fought in every Battle againſt his Country, to ſucceed to the high Office of CONSUL for the remaining part of the current Year. After that *A. Hirtius*, a young Man too, but one of his chief Officers, and *C. Vibius Panſa*, raiſed from a Plebeian, were to be honoured with that ſupreme Dignity. *C. Trebonius* (the ſame who took

* Eadem licentiâ, ſpreto patrio more, MAGISTRATUS in plures annos ordinavit.

SUETON. in Jul. § 76.

Antony aſide, and kept him in diſcourſe without, untill his Friends ſhould execute their great Deſign in the Senate-houſe) was *Proconſul* in the *leſſer Aſia: Decimus Brutus* (the Conqueror of *Marſeilles* in a bad Cauſe) governed the *nearer*, and *M. Lepidus*, Maſter of the Horſe, the *farther* GAUL: theſe two were to ſucceed *Hirtius* and *Panſa* in the Conſulſhip; and *M. Brutus* and *C. Caſſius*, being in the uſual Progreſs of Power, *Town-Pretors*, were each to have Provinces at the expiration of their Office; *Brutus* was to have *Macedon*, and *Caſſius*, *Syria*. Theſe were the higheſt Dignities, and Commands of the greateſt conſequence in the Empire. Some of the Men who poſſeſſed them, or who were deſtined to fill them, were ill-affected to the *Cauſe of Liberty*, and at the ſame time capable of doing great miſchief: Theſe were neither to be made deſperate, by being ſtript of their Places, nor was the PUBLIC to be deprived of the Services of its *beſt Friends*, who were intermixed with them. This Conſideration, joined to the Apprehenſions they were under from the *Veterans*, (the conſtant Terror of free States) and from the Troops which *M. Lepidus*, the Dictator's *Lieutenant*, commanded in the Neighbourhood of the City, *diſpirited* the Senators, and made the *Chiefs* of the Republic act with more Coolneſs than the great Conjuncture required.

WHEN the Deſign of reſtoring the Roman Common-wealth to Liberty was firſt laid, it was propoſed, 'that *Marc Antony*, 'then Conſul with *Julius Ceſar*, and a chief Inſtrument in all his 'Wickedneſs, ſhould partake of the Fate of his Patron; that 'their Bodies ſhould be dragged into the *Tiber*, their Eſtates 'forfeited, and all Tranſactions under the Uſurpation reſcinded.' But the mild *Brutus* oppoſed the killing of *Antony*, ſaying, 'It 'was only the *Tyrant* they muſt deſtroy; when *He* was gone, 'and the Head lopped off, the *Tyranny* would drop of its own 'accord:' and while *Antony* was poſſeſſed of the ſovereign Authority as *Conſul*, and *Lepidus*, a Man of the ſame Stamp, Maſter of the Horſe, it was not poſſible to execute the ſubſequent Meaſures.

Meaſures. Yet the wiſeſt Men thought this to be an *irreparable* Omiſſion, and the real Ground-work of all the Diſorders and Calamities that ſoon after diſtracted the unhappy Republic, and again robbed it of its newly recovered Liberty. The Steps thro' which this wicked Attempt was conducted, and by which the LAWS were again overturned, and the Remains of the *beſt Blood in Rome* ſpilt in vain in their Defence, make the melancholly Subject of this Book.

MARC ANTONY was of a very noble and ancient Family; but owed his Advancement wholly to *Ceſar*. He was his Kinſman, and a peculiar Favourite, being juſt ſuch a Perſon as *Julius* wiſhed, *indigent*, *debauched*, and *daring*. With a good Education he might have proved no Diſcredit to his Anceſtors, nor Curſe to the Common-wealth; but he had the Misfortune to fall early into the very worſt Hands, and aſſociate with the Men of the moſt odious Characters in Rome; *Lentulus Sura*, who was ſtrangled for the *Catiline* Conſpiracy, was his Father-in-law; *C. Curio* his Tutor and Lover in the worſt Senſe; the abandoned *Clodius*, and lewd *Gabinius* (whom he accompanied upon his lawleſs *Egyptian* Expedition) were his deareſt Companions. He had accordingly when very young, run into ſuch an extravagant Expence, that he was declared *bankrupt*, forced to abſcond for ſome time, and to take infamous Methods for his Suſtenance. He was of a large Stature, a bold manly Aſpect,—was very noiſy in his Pleaſures, and buffooniſh in his Mirth. The common Soldiers, with whom he drank and joked, admired him, and his other Talents no leſs recommended him to his General. He had acquitted himſelf gallantly (if Gallantry can be ſhewn in Wickedneſs) on many great Occaſions; but *Ceſar* gave him the grand Proof of his Confidence, at the fatal Battle of *Pharſalia*; for when the deciding Stroke was to be ſtruck between him and the great POMPEY, the Command of the left Wing of the *Ceſareans* was given to M. ANTONY. He

continued

continued to heap Honours upon him afterwards, without Intermiſſion, (excepting one Miſunderſtanding, which ſoon paſſed over) and had choſen him for this Year to be his Collegue in the Conſulſhip.

When this truſty Friend of *Ceſar*'s perceived what they were about in the *Senate-houſe*, being very conſcious of his own Deſerts, he ran terrified home, and diſguiſed himſelf in the Habit of a Slave, making no doubt but he would be ſearched for, and if apprehended, certainly put to death. But when, to his no ſmall Surprize, he heard, that *Brutus* and his *Friends* were taking no more Lives, nor doing any violent thing whatſoever, he firſt crept out of his lurking Hole, and next, with great Diffidence, re-aſſumed the *Enſigns of Conſul*. However being ſtill apprehenſive of the Danger, which threatened him and all who had dipped in Cesar's *Uſurpation*, had they had to do with Men of other Diſpoſitions and Deſigns than that Body of Senators united in the Cauſe of Liberty, he could not take reſt untill he was in better terms with them. He therefore ſent an honourable Meſſage to theſe great Men, deſiring them to come down, with full Aſſurance of *Conſular Protection*: They demurred a little; and the firſt two Days of their recovered Liberty were ſpent in Negotiation, in ſending and receiving Propoſals: He then went himſelf to the *Capitol*, and ſent up his own ſon, and the Maſter of Horſe's ſon, the young *Lepidus*, as Hoſtages for the Security of *Brutus* and his *Friends*. They came down, — and were received with Acclamations of Joy by the *People*, and with Tears of Gratitude by the moſt *illuſtrious Citizens* of Rome. They proceeded from the *Capitol* to the *Forum*, where was held the firſt *free* Meeting it had ſeen for Years, and M. Brutus was placed upon the *Roſtra*. He from thence made a Speech to the People, in his *own* Character: It was animated with the Love of Liberty;

it

it was full of diſintereſted Goodneſs; and conceived in ſuch elegant Terms, and ſuch a Nobleneſs of Expreſſion as commanded Admiration, and drew reiterated Shouts of Applauſe. *

The day before, while the Meſſages were paſſing, M. Tullius Cicero, no nominal Patriot, but a conſtant Friend to the real Intereſts of Rome, had joined the Heroes in the Capitol, and earneſtly preſſed *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, 'That they as Prætors, without regard to the Conſuls *Antony* and *Dolabella*, 'whoſe Inclinations they knew, ſhould forthwith call the Se-'nate to the *Capitol*, take the whole State of the Republic in-'to their Conſideration, paſs the neceſſary Decrees, reform the 'irregular Magiſtracies, and reſettle their Liberty upon laſting 'Foundations;' and happy had it been for *them* and for *Rome* that they had followed his Advice. But *Brutus* wiſhing to have every thing done in the moſt *legal* and *unexceptionable* manner, to ſhew that nothing but *Neceſſity* had driven the Friends of Liberty to uſe Violence againſt its Foe, choſe rather, if poſſible, to act in concert with the Conſuls, *ſuch as they were.* From the *Forum* therefore, they went to the Temple of the Earth, the uſual Place of meeting.

When the *Senate* was ſet, Cicero, one of the oldeſt Conſulars, ſtood up, and made a Speech worthy of his Integrity and Eloquence. He thanked the Gods that he had lived to ſee the Day when Liberty again dawned upon the Republic; he ſpoke of the reſtored *Majeſty* of the Laws, of the *Authority* of the Senate, and of the *Privileges* of the People, with a Dignity becoming the Subject: and then turning to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, he ſaluted them *DELIVERERS OF THEIR COUNTRY*; and promiſed (what has been well performed) *Immortality to their Names, while there remained any Memory of the Glory or Grandeur of* Rome.

After

* Brutus noſter miſit ad me orationem ſuam habitam in concione Capitolina——eſt autem oratio ſcripta elegantiſſimè, ſententiis, verbis, ut nihil poſſit ultra.
Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. XV. Ep. 1.

AFTER this, to quiet mens Minds, and prevent farther Diſorders, he propoſed to imitate the celebrated *Athenian* AMNHΣTEIA, or ACT of OBLIVION, and decree *Indemnity* for what was paſt on all ſides, during the civil War; which was unanimouſly agreed to. He next moved, that *Honours* and *Provinces* ſhould be decreed to thoſe Patriots who had *deſtroyed the haughty Oppreſſor, and reſcued the ſinking Republic*; which likewiſe met with univerſal Approbation. It was laſtly propoſed, I think by *Calpurnius Piſo*, a very different Man, to confirm all Grants made by *Ceſar*, and ratify all the public Acts of his Government. This was a Matter of the very laſt Importance. To give a legal Sanction to the Deeds of a *Tyrant* ſtruck at the root of their Liberties: But whether in that hurry, and agitation of Mens Spirits, they were not aware of its weighty Conſequences; or whether a ſincere Deſire of Peace and future Concord blinded them, it is no leſs amazing than true, that *M. Brutus and all his Friends* aſſented to the Propoſal. Perhaps they thought by that means to *gain* CESAR's Creatures, and fix them to the Intereſts of the Common-wealth, while they held their Honours and Eſtates by the ſame ACT of Senate, that ſecured and rewarded the Aſſerters of its Liberty. But that very Clauſe proved in end the Ruin of it and them, as we ſhall ſee afterwards.

MEAN time, the Senate broke up; and *Antony* the Conſul, now ſure of Life and Dignity, to ſhew a ſincere Reconciliation, invited *Caſſius* to dine with him: *Brutus* went home with his Brother-in-law *M. Lepidus*, and the reſt with their ſeveral Friends of the other Party. At Dinner talking over the grand Enterprize, as uſually happens, *Antony* with a Smile aſked his Gueſt, whether he had not then a Dagger concealed under his Robe? *Yes*, ſaid Caſſius, *a truſty one, if you have any Deſigns upon the public Liberty.*

THUS things ſeemed pretty quiet, for the preſent *, and ſome Hope appeared of Reſpite from the Miſeries into which the boundleſs

* Anno U. C. 709.

boundleſs Ambition of one Citizen had for the ſpace of ſix Years plunged the *Roman* Empire: But Men of no Principles, and embarked in bad Deſigns, having nothing to truſt in, but their own Induſtry, are ever more vigilant than the good and worthy, who are apt to turn ſecure, thro' confidence in their Cauſe and conſcious Integrity.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO, a Man who had paſſed thro' all the Honours of his Country without other Recommendation than the *Antiquity* of his Family, was *Ceſar*'s Father-in-law; and by a common Infirmity, loved his ill-got Grandeur, tho' he did not care that any one ſhould ſucceed to it. He inſiſted to have a public funeral Solemnity for the *perpetual* DICTATOR; and raiſed great diſſenſion among the Fathers by the Motion. C. CASSIUS ſwelled with Indignation at the Propoſal, vehemently oppoſed it, and was ſeconded by many of the old ſtaunch Republicans. —But the *good* and *unſuſpicious* BRUTUS went but too eaſily into it; as indeed it was difficult to foreſee the Improvement that was made of it.

WHEN the Morn appointed for the Solemnity was come, *Antony* (who took the Management of the Funeral) was carefull to have the Corpſe expoſed in the moſt magnificent manner. The funeral Pile was reared near the *Julian* Monument, in the *Campus martius*; but in the very *Forum*, juſt by the *Roſtra*, there was a kind of CHAPEL erected, after the Model of the Temple which *Ceſar* had built to *Parent-Venus*.* It was gilt all over, and within it ſtood a Couch of Ivory, or Bed of State, on which the Corpſe was laid in the ſame Robe which *Ceſar* wore at his death, with a Trophy at his Head, and a Covering of Purple and Cloth of Gold thrown over the Couch. In this State lay the dead *Ceſar*, while the funeral Games were performing; which was an Opportunity not to be omitted of raiſing Envy among the Multitude, and Commiſeration of their Patron. For this purpoſe, they adapted to his Fate ſome theatrical Speeches

* VENERI GENETRICI.

taken from a Tragedy of *Pacuvius*, called AJAX, or the *Judgment of the Arms:*

Was it for this *I ſaved them—that they might*
Live, and deſtroy me—? *

and ſome other things of the ſame ſort from the ELECTRA of old *Accius*. But the chief Actor in this Farce was ANTONY *himſelf*.

IT was cuſtomary among the *Romans*, to recount the Perfections of a great Man at his Death, as an Incentive to Virtue among the ſurviving. The *Conſul* undertook to perform that Duty to the dead *Ceſar*. 'His high Qualities, he ſaid, and glori-'ous Deeds were too many, and too far above the common 'Pitch, to have Juſtice done them in a paſſing Speech: But ta-'king firſt the DECREE of the SENATE, in which *divine Ho-'nours* had been decreed to the Dictator, he read it in the hear-'ing of the People †.—Then taking the Form of the Oath 'which they had ſworn, *to hold his Perſon ſacred*, and *keep it in-'violate*, he recited it in the ſame manner;' he did not, we may ſuppoſe, acquaint the People, that both the Decree and the Oath had been extorted by an *armed Uſurper*, the Curſe of *Rome* and Scourge of the *Empire*; or that *theſe* were ſome of the many infamous Marks of the *Roman Slavery:* on the contrary, while he was reading them, he ſeemed by the melancholly Tone of his Voice, —by the Geſtures of his Hands, and mournful Looks to the dead Body, to compare theſe extraordinary Honours with its *preſent* Condition; and as he went on, perceiving the People to be attentive, and ſome Emotion appear in their Countenances, he began to raiſe his Voice, and mix ſome alternate Strokes of *Indignation* and *Pity* with his Praiſe: at laſt, as the Paſſion increaſed, turning to the Couch, he pulled off the gorgeous Covering,

* *Men' me ſervaſſe, ut eſſent qui me perderent?*

† *C. Suetonius* ſays it was recited by the public Cryer, and that *Antony* added a very few Words; but other Authors give a different account, and particularly CICERO in the ſecond PHILIPPIC.

vering, and diſcovered the Body lying in the Robe, all torn and bloody, in which *Ceſar* had been killed; and pointing ſometimes to the mangled Coarſe, and then to the Garment diſtained with Gore, he wrought the Multitude up to ſuch a Fury, that inſtead of carrying the Body out of the City to the *Campus martius*, where the Pile was prepared, they ſuddenly laid hold of the Tables, and Benches of the ſeveral Tribunals in the *Forum*, and tearing them in pieces, with whatever combuſtible thing came in their way, they huddled ſome Faggots together, reared a tumultuary Pile upon the Spot, and burnt the Body ſacrilegiouſly in the midſt of the *Forum*.

THE Enthuſiaſm ſeemed to catch with the flame; for the *Conſular*-Guards and *public Servants* joining the Rabble, threw their Arms and Liveries into the burning Pile; and the *Women* ſeized with the ſame Spirit, ſtripped off their Ornaments, and the Cloaths and Trinkets of their Children, to burn them with their departed Favourite. In the heat of their Rage ſome of the Mob lighted Torches at the Pile, and ran to the Houſes of the Senators who had delivered them from the Tyrant, with an Intention to have ſet them on Fire: But as great Diſorders had formerly happened in *Rome* on ſuch occaſions, they were upon their guard, and the Ruffians were repulſed; while *Antony* loſt the little Reputation he had lately gained with the Senate: for tho' it was a Crew of Slaves and mean People who managed the riotous Funeral, and made the Attempt upon the Authors of their Freedom, yet it was perfectly underſtood who directed it, and to what end the whole of ſuch Management tended.

TYRANTS and Traitors, if they have been what their Flatterers call *magnificent*, that is *profuſe*; if they laviſh in Luxury what they rapaciouſly extort, never fail of being gracious with the Commonalty, and regreted by the worthleſs and indigent. Even *NERO himſelf* was, in this way, extremely *popular*; he was ſadly mourned by the *Roman Mob*, and earneſtly wiſhed for after his Deceaſe. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that

the *Females* ſhewed ſuch Concern at the Funerals of the Dictator; a Man noted for Intrigue and Gallantry. They had done the ſame at his Predeceſſor *L. Sylla*'s Interment, (a Perſon much of the ſame Character) and particularly brought ſuch a Quantity of Perfumes, Spiceries, and precious Incenſe, that an Image was made of them, repreſenting SYLLA, and another in the Shape of a *Lictor*, to be burnt along with him. But the true Value of ſuch Popularity was remarkably ſeen, when *Clodius*, the worſt of Mankind, and an Inſtrument of this ſame *Ceſar*, was killed by the brave *T. Annius Milo: His* Body was likewiſe expoſed to public View; and as the *Senate* was thought to rejoice at the Removal of ſuch a Peſt from the Common-wealth, the enraged Mob took up the Body, hurried it to the very Door of the *Senate-houſe*, and there dreſſed up his Pile in a frantic manner: the Senate-houſe was ſet on fire, and the adjoining *Porcian Portico* was burnt to the Ground; and to complete the Reſemblance, ſome of his old Mercenaries ran with lighted Torches to the Houſes of *Milo* and *Lepidus* his noted Oppoſers, and met with the ſame Reception as the *Ceſarean Incendiaries*.

ONE peculiar Circumſtance is recorded of the latter, that, among all the Dregs of the People, none deplored the Fate of *Julius* more loudly nor pertinaciouſly, than a Nation no leſs noted then as now, the JEWS dwelling at *Rome* *. They aſſembled many Nights together, and kept a grievous *howling* about his Monument, according to their manner of mourning for the dead. It is difficult to aſſign a Reaſon for this Partiality, to the Ravager of Nations. Perhaps their *ſlaviſh Temper*, which had ſhewed itſelf very early, and indeed thro' all the Periods of their State might incline them to bewail the Death of a MASTER: for, in effect,

* ——Vin' tu.
Curtis JUDAEIS oppedere——?
Credat JUDAEUS *APELLA*—non ego.
JUDAEI——cogemus te——&c. HORAT.

Vide etiam JUVENALEM, et CL. RUT. NUMATIANI Itinerarium. Verſ. 381.

effect, a *Jew* could no more love a *free State*, than a *Syrian* or a *Parthian*, or a Native of modern Countries enured to Slavery. To *ſuch* LIBERTY looks *dreadfull*; and they can no more bear the *Effulgence* of — the *Goddeſs of the fearleſs Eye* * than an ancient *Cappadocian*. Or perhaps the *Jews* ſuperſtitiouſly looked upon *Ceſar* as a Man immediately ſent by GOD to avenge them of POMPEY the GREAT, who had taken *Jeruſalem*, *looked* into, that is *polluted* the Temple, and ſettled the Diſtractions of their Kingdom.

BUT *Ceſar* had very different *Mourners* to perpetuate his Memory: for encouraged by his Example, and by the high Dignity of the Conſulſhip, M. ANTONY took up the wicked Deſign of imitating his Maſter, and again overturning the *Commonwealth* †. Its Eſtabliſhment he dreaded above all things; not only as it was a Bar to his Ambition, but being equally profuſe as rapacious, all he had got under *Ceſar* was ſquandered, and he was plunged both in Debt and Debauchery ‡: Beſides, that the little Regard he paid himſelf to the Laws, and to the *Act of Indemnity*, made him apprehend others might do the ſame, and one day or other might call him to account for what was paſt. He knew that his Conduct in the *Tribuneſhip* had furniſhed *Ceſar* with a *poor* Pretence indeed, but the *chief* one he had for the *civil*

* Mr. THOMSON.

† ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ δὲ—ἐπὶ τὴν τῦ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος προσήκουσαν ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν, ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνῳ προπεπονημένοις αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεπόιησε διάδοχον. Πλουταρχ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ.

‡ *At an Interview of the greateſt* General *and* Stateſman *in* Rome, POMPEY the great, *and* M. CICERO, *they had a Speech made by Antony in their hands, a few days before the* Conſular Elections. *It was a* Libel *upon* Pompey *from his tendereſt Youth*; *invidious Complaints of* Citizens condemned; *and high Menaces of Redreſs* by Arms. *At which* Pompey *aſked*, Quid cenſes, aiebat, facturum eſſe ipſum (CAESAREM) ſi in poſſeſſionem Reip. venerit, cum haec Quaeſtor ejus, *infirmus* atque *inops* audeat dicere? CICER. ad ATTIC. Lib. VII. Ep. 8.

civil War: he was conſcious of the Blood he had inhumanly ſhed during the courſe of that Calamity *; and could but ill anſwer for the Sums of Money he had ſeized, and Eſtates he had invaded under the Uſurpation. Neither could he poſſibly have forgot his late Attempt to make *Ceſar a King in Rome*, contrary to the fundamental Law of the State †. But being in want of *Money*, and of ſome ſort of Title to *Troops* and *Provinces* after the expiration of his Conſulſhip, there was a neceſſity of his being in better terms with the SENATE, whom he had highly provoked by his Encomium upon their *Enemy*, and by inſtigating the Populace againſt their *Friends*. For this end he was obliged to aſſume another Character, and take up a new Conduct, which he did very artfully for a while, and at laſt found means to perſuade them *he was ſincere*.

THERE was one *Amatius Herophilus*, a Farrier by Trade, a bold diſſembling deſperate Fellow, who pretended to be a Grandſon of the famous *C. Marius*, the Idol of the Commonalty. This Pretender had gained ſo much upon the credulous Multitude, as the Deſcendant and Repreſentative of their Protector, that he was attended by Crowds of them where-ever he went; and being inſinuating and artfull, had arrived at ſuch a Pitch of Popularity, as once to rival it with *Ceſar himſelf*. *Julius*, to be very gracious with his Friends, and palliate the Effuſion of *Patrician-blood*, after his Return from the terrible Slaughter at *Munda*, had admitted the whole Populace into his Gardens upon the *Tiber*, to compliment him upon the Concluſion of the civil War. At the ſame time this falſe *Marius* took his Station in the next Diviſion; where to the honour of *Popularity*, there was almoſt as great a Concourſe of the Mob paying Court to him, as to the Di-

* Fueras in acie Pharſalica antefignanus. L. Domitium, nobiliſſimum ac clariſſimum virum occideras; multos qui de praelio effugerant, crudeliſſimè perſecutus trucidâras. CICER. Philipp. II.

† See page 54.

Dictator.* In ſhort, he grew ſo powerfull, that *Ceſar*, apprehenſive of his raiſing Commotions, found it proper to baniſh him from *Italy*; not thinking it decent to inflict a ſeverer Puniſhment upon a Man who was the Darling of that Party, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he had himſelf riſen to all his Grandeur.

Upon the firſt News of *Ceſar*'s Exit, *Amatius* had returned to *Rome*; and to prevent his ever going again into exile, he formed the uſual Deſign of ſuch deſperate Ringleaders;—to murder the *Chiefs of the Senate*, as the grand Obſtacles that hindered him and his Party from attaining the Power and Wealth they aimed at, and had actually concerted the Meaſures for putting it in execution. This Deſign could not be long a Secret among ſuch a Gang as *Amatius*'s Confederates. It quickly took air, and afforded Antony ſuch an Opportunity as his own Heart could have wiſhed. He cauſed *Amatius* to be apprehended, and by his Authority as Conſul, without other Form of Law, put him inſtantly to death, as a Diſturber of the State; and to the equal Surprize and Joy of the Senate, had his Body dragged into the *Tiber*, in the ſame ignominious manner as the *vileſt Malefactor*. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Rage of the Multitude, or the Hatred they conceived againſt the *Conſul* for this Action: he loſt himſelf with them ſo entirely, that ſome of the Senators began to think him in earneſt, in the Steps he had been taking for ſome time to recover their good Opinion, and to make amends for his *Harangue on their Enemy*.

To heighten this Perſuaſion, he did nothing of moment, without the Advice of the *principal Senators*, whom he called to his Houſe to aſſiſt at ſuch Conſultations: He not only conſented, but had himſelf moved, to recall the young Sextus Pompey from *Spain*, and re-inſtate him in the Fortune and Honours of

* Quin etiam cum C. Caesar, Cn. Pompeio adoleſcente in *Hiſpaniâ* oppreſſo, Populum in hortis ſuis admiſiſſet, proximo intercolumnio, pene pari ſtudio et frequentiâ ſalutatus eſt Herophilus, (*equarius Medicus.*)

Valer. Max. Lib. IX. Cap. 15. § 2.

of his Father, (whoſe Memory was dear to the beſt in ROME) with this Proviſo, 'that if *Ceſar* while *Dictator* had ſold or 'otherwiſe diſpoſed of any Part of *Pompey*'s Eſtate, that the 'Equivalent ſhould be paid to his Son out of the public Trea-'ſury.' After this, to leave no doubt of his being truly changed, and become well-affected to his Country, he had preferred a Law, *For ever to aboliſh the* DICTATORSHIP, which was now only another Name for a Tyranny, *with Imprecations againſt the Perſon who ſhould propoſe it, and a Price ſet upon his Head who ſhould receive and give it a Sanction:** when in conſequence of theſe preparatory Steps, he had ſo boldly deſtroyed the *pretended Marius*, the ſworn Enemy of the Nobility, they no longer doubted of his Sincerity, but by an unanimous Vote he had the *Thanks of the* SENATE, in the moſt obliging and honourable terms: Even CICERO and BRUTUS were deceived †; for tho' it was eaſy to ſee, that the Motion made in favour of the young *Pompey*, was to ſecure his *Father*'s fine Houſe and Gardens to himſelf, (he had ſhamefully purchaſed them when expoſed to ſale by *Ceſar*, and ſtormed when the Price was demanded) yet the other Steps he had taken ſeemed ſo fair and diſintereſted, that it required much Prejudice to reſiſt them. Who could think that a daily *Deference* to the Authority of the *Senate*—that the *Abolition* of the DICTATORSHIP, (which ſince *Sylla* and *Ceſar*'s Uſurpations, was become only another Name for *arbitrary Power*) and the making a public example with a high hand of ſuch a dangerous Villain as *Herophilus*, could point at any other purpoſe than the ſervice of the *public Liberty*, and the

* Καὶ νόμον ἐπέθηκαν, ΜΗΔΕΝΑ ἄυθις ΔΙΚΤΑΤΩΡΑ ῥυέντ' ἀρᾶς τε ποιησάμενοι, καὶ θανάτου προείποντες, ἄν τις εἰσήγηται τάτο, ἀνθ' ὑποσῆ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα αὐτοῖς ἀνίκητος ἐπικηρύξαντες. ΔΙΩΝ. ΚΑΣΣ. Βιϐ. μδ.

† De MARIO (*i. e. Amatio*) probé——optimé, tam etiam BRUTO noſtro probari *Antonium*. CICER. ad ATTIC. Lib. XIV. Ep. 8.

the Safety of its *Friends?* yet it is certain theſe Steps were made with a View to facilitate the Ruin of *both*, as very ſoon appeared.

THE firſt Improvement which *Antony* made of the good Opinion of the *Senate*, was to repreſent to them that his Perſon was in danger from the Fury of *Amatius*'s Gang, and humbly to requeſt *the Fathers*, that they would be pleaſed to impower him to *arm a Guard for his Protection*, againſt the outragious and revengefull Populace. The Repreſentation was not altogether groundleſs: They had begun to build upon the Spot where *Ceſar*'s Corpſe was burnt, a *marble Pillar twenty foot high*, ſacred to his Memory, and inſcribed TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY;—they aſſembled in great numbers, and in a very tumultuous manner about it every evening, which ſeemed to portend no good to the *Conſul*, who had executed their Ringleader. But inſtead of the Guard allowed him by the *Senate*, *Antony* levied a Body of almoſt ſix thouſand Men—not of common Soldiers, whom he knew he could command when he pleaſed, but of the *old Ceſarean Subalterns*, with their veteran Officers, his own Camp-companions at their head, *Saxa*, *Capbo*, *Claſſitius*, *Muſtela* and *Tiro*, all men of the *ſame* ſtamp, mere Soldiers of Fortune, indigent and daring, who hated good Order and the Senate, and were ready to do or ſuffer any thing, to recover the glorious days of Licence and Plunder which they enjoyed under *Ceſar*.

SUPPORTED by ſuch a Band, he began to make a ſtrange Uſe of that Part of the Senate's Decree, which *ratified all the Grants, and public Conſtitutions made by the Uſurper:* inſomuch that by a ſingular ſort of Fate, *Ceſar* tho' dead continued to govern the Common-wealth. His Regulations took place, his Gifts were effective, and his Nomination to an Office gave as good a Title as if he himſelf had been ſtill alive. *Antony* was far from ſtopping here, but went roundly to work, and made the Pretence

of *Ceſar*'s Nomination ſerve for whatever purpoſe he had amind to promote for his *own* or his *Friends* advantage, as we ſhall quickly have occaſion to relate at large: But what was now done gave great Diſtaſte and ſome Diſquiet to the Friends of Liberty; who complained, and very juſtly, that *the Tyrant was indeed taken away, but the Tyranny itſelf ſubſiſted in its full Vigour:* and they had the more reaſon to ſay ſo, the longer and the more attentively they conſidered the Courſe of the Adminiſtration.

Upon the firſt flying Accounts of *Ceſar*'s Death, his Niece's Son, Caius Octavius, a Youth about nineteen, who had been ſent by his Uncle acroſs the *Adriatic* to complete his Studies at *Apollonia*, (a Sea-town of *Illyricum*) was in the greateſt Terror and Confuſion. *Ceſar* had ordered *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, two truſty Servants, who had the Tuition of the young Man, to carry him thither, untill he ſhould himſelf march for *Pannonia* and the *Eaſt*, and call upon them to attend him in the Expedition. But that Deſign dropping with the Dictator, the *Centurions* of the Legions that were lying ready for the Campaign, came crowding about the young *Octavius*, and offered to ſtand by him to the laſt, if he would take up *their* Quarrel and his *own*, and avenge his Grand-uncle their General's Death: For a corrupt Army will ſnatch at any Pretext, and act under any Leader rather than obey the Laws and be diſbanded;— and is therefore the thing moſt to be dreaded in a free State. *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* ſaid it was no inconſiderable Force the *Centurions* offered; but being uncertain how things ſtood at *Rome*, and under the recent Terror of his Uncle's Fate, he thought it beſt only to thank them for their Zeal, and immediately ſet ſail for *Italy*.

He ſteered not ſtraight for *Brindiſi*, the uſual landing Port from *Greece* and the *Eaſt*; not knowing how the Troops lying thereabouts might receive him; but put into *Lupié*, an unfrequented Harbour a little South of it, and ſent out proper Perſons

ſons to bring him Intelligence, how the Soldiery in the Neighbourhood ſtood affected, and whether any of the great Men, Reſtorers of the Roman Liberty, were in theſe Parts.

HERE, while he waited the Return of his Meſſengers, he received the firſt Accounts of the *Act of Indemnity*, of the *Confirmation of Grants*, and ſome other Tranſactions at *Rome*. He likewiſe received a Copy of Ceſar's *latter Will*, at the foot of which, as the *laſt* and probably an *additional* Article *, to his no ſmall Joy, he found himſelf beſides his Share of the Eſtate, adopted into the *JULIAN Name and Family*. His Meſſengers ſoon returned with Aſſurances of a hearty Welcome from the Garriſon at *Brindiſi*; whither he haſtened,—did ſacrifice, and amidſt the Acclamations of the Legions, firſt took the Name of CESAR.

WHEN the News of his Arrival in *Italy* were ſpread, his Uncle's Friends came flocking about him; and eſpecially the *Veterans*, who for their illegal Services had been put in poſſeſſion of the *Eſtates* of their *Betters*, and were in dread of loſing them, if not of ſomething worſe, by his Death. Among theſe he paſſed ſome days in ſuſpenſe and conſultation; after which bidding them and all *Julius*'s Partiſans, who met him in multitudes on the Road, keep quiet untill their Aſſiſtance ſhould be neceſſary, he ſet out with no ſmall Retinue for *Rome*.

IT was a *bold* Step in a young Man, and had he fallen in the Cauſe, would have been accounted a *raſh* one, to aſſume a *Name* that ſet him at the Head of a Party lately quaſhed by ſo dreadfull a Blow; that ſubjected him to ſuch a Load of Envy, expoſed him to high Enmities, and involved him in a Conteſt with the Common-wealth. His Mother ATIA was full of Apprehenſions about it; and her Huſband, his Father-in-law *L. Marcius Philip*, a wiſe and good Man, earneſtly diſſuaded him from either taking the Name, or claiming the Inheritance: inſomuch that when the young Man in his way to *Rome*, went to wait upon him and his Mother at their Country-ſeat, which was hard by one of *Cicero*'s

* In imâ Cerâ. SUETON. in Julio. § 83.

Villas, *Philip* would not condeſcend to give him his new Title of *Ceſar*, and *Cicero*, who was there on a Viſit, followed his Friend's Example.

WHEN the Youth came to *Rome*, he found things in a different Situation from what he had been made to expect. He looked for nothing but Careſſes and Welcome from *Ceſar*'s Friends, eſpecially from ſuch as owed their All to his Uncle's Profuſion: But that Party had aſſumed a *new Form*, and the Heads of it had taken other Views ſince the Death of their Patron. ANTONY was now uppermoſt, and purſuing the ſame Meaſures *Ceſar* had taken, to preſerve his Superiority. Next to him was M. LEPIDUS of the old Nobility, and very rich, but a wavering worthleſs Man *. In the Confuſion and Hurry that enſued upon deſtroying the *Dictator*, he had improved his Power as *Maſter of the Horſe*, which gave him the Command of all the Troops about *Rome*, and ſeized upon the HIGH-PRIESTHOOD vacant by *Ceſar*'s Death. Next in order came P. DOLABELLA, who having been nominated to the Conſulſhip in *Ceſar*'s illegal Method, after he ſhould ſet out for *Pannonia*, had now aſſumed the *Faſces* and *Lictors*, and acted as *Antony*'s Collegue. Of the ſame ſtanding were their Succeſſors deſigned, A. HIRTIUS and VIBIUS PANSA, all the four, if not equally debauched, (for *Panſa* was a Man of Decency) at leaſt equally aſpiring. After theſe were the *perſonal* Favourites, if I may ſo call the *three Perſons*, who held the chief Place in *Ceſar*'s Confidence, and by that means tho' Gentlemen of obſcure Birth, and one of them a Foreigner, came to be Prefects of Provinces, and Directors of the greateſt Affairs †. Theſe were C. OPPIUS, Lord High Chamberlain,

* *Ventoſiſſimum* hominem LEPIDUM. PLANCUS ad Cicer. Ep.

† C. OPPIUS et CORNEL. BALBUS, primi (Equitum Rom. praepoſitorum Provinciis) *Caeſaris* opibus potuêre conditiones pacis et arbitria belli tractare: MATIOS poſthac et VEDIOS, et caetera equitum Rom. praevalida nomina, referre nihil attenuerit. CORN. TACIT. Ann. XI.

lain *, CORNELIUS BALBUS principal Secretary †, and the knowing polite CN. MATIUS, Maſter of the Artillery ‡. Theſe three were firſt entruſted with the Government of Ceſar's *domeſtic* Concerns, — they had been the Confidents of his *Pleaſures*, and for their good Services in *theſe* Stations were advanced to Places of Dignity and Profit above their Rank and before their Time.

NOT one of CESAR's *Servants*, we may well believe, had any good Liking to the Reſtoration of Liberty, and Re-eſtabliſhment of the Common-wealth. They well knew that the Chiefs of the *Nobility* and *Senate*, or the Men able, like *Tullius Cicero*, to raiſe themſelves by their Capacity and Worth, would then have the leading in public Affairs. This they could not bear, *they*, who had lately ſeen themſelves the Inſtruments of Power, and been the Canals thro' which Favours were diſpenſed or Penalties inflicted; and therefore above all things wiſhed for new Diſorders and a civil War. Nor did they long ſearch for a Pretence.

THEY ſaid, 'That the greateſt Man in *Rome* was baſely mur-'dered; that by that Deed the Republic was wholly unhinged; 'that notwithſtanding the late ACT, all he had done would be 'reverſed as ſoon as the old Form of Government (that is LI-'BERTY) was re-eſtabliſhed, and the Actors in his death not 'only ſecured from danger, but chief Magiſtrates in the Em-'pire.' That nothing but his Magnanimity, and too great Clemency had ruined him; which if he had not indulged to exceſs, no ſuch thing could have befallen ſo great a Man. Theſe were their common Topics of Diſcourſe: all joining in oppoſition to the *Pompeian* Party, (as the Friends to Liberty were impertinently called:) But when the Queſtion came to be put, *Who ſhould be at the Head of their* OWN? they differed widely.

THERE

* A domeſticis.

† A Conſiliis: — omnium conſiliorum particeps.

‡ Præfectus Fabrûm.

THERE was no one of them of ſuch ſuperior *Dignity* or *Power* as to *command* Obedience from the reſt, or of ſuch ſuperior *Merit* as to *gain* them over to a voluntary Reſignation of their Pretenſions: Every one ſince *Ceſar*'s Death meaned to be uppermoſt himſelf; many of them *ſpoke* well of the public Liberty; and all of them cried out againſt ANTONY, as a violent unworthy Man, becauſe he had outſtripped them all, and ſtood in their way. By this means the Party was disjointed, and its Leaders broken, and at variance among themſelves. But *Antony* and his Collegue having *at preſent* the ſupreme Power in their Hands, made fairly a Bargain, *To divide it betwixt them, and give one another no Trouble in the Enjoyment of their Shares.* Their Story, which is worth knowing, is as follows.

DOLABELLA was a young Man * of high Birth, and higher Pretenſions; he was naturally forward and very active; and both in his Pleaſures, and in Buſineſs, did not much regard the *means* he uſed, ſo he reached his *ends*. He loved Innovations; and a Point obtained by force, or by an illegal Step, loſt nothing of its value with *Dolabella*. He was debauched, profuſe, and deeply in debt; and could not miſs to follow *Ceſar*. He had bore Command in the chief Battles which that wicked Man fought againſt his Country in † *Theſſaly*, *Afric* ‡ and *Spain* **, and got a Wound in the laſt ‖; the moſt deſperate of three Engagements, diſputed by Men on both ſides, who were reſolved to dy or conquer. It was chiefly upon this Merit, as was ſaid, that *Ceſar*, at his Return, named him to ſucceed to the Conſulſhip when he ſhould himſelf go to the *Parthian* War.

THESE two reſtleſs Spirits had been Collegues before, and had made their Magiſtracy pretty remarkable: For after the Field of *Pharſalia*, where the *Roman* SENATE bled, when *Ceſar* went in

* Not above five and twenty.
† Battle of Pharſalia.
‡ Thapſus.
** Munda.

‖ Ter depugnavit CAESAR cum CIVIBUS, in *Theſſaliâ*, Africâ, Hiſpaniâ: omnibus affuit his pugnis DOLABELLA: in hiſpanienſi etiam vulnus accepit.
CICER. Philipp. II.

in purſuit of their General to *Egypt*, he diſpatched them two over to Italy, to look after the City as TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE. This was the *only civil* Magiſtracy that did not fall upon the Choice of a DICTATOR. In the mean time, the *Alexandrian* War, and *Cleopatra*'s Charms (the Cauſe of it) having kept *Ceſar* from home much longer than was expected, gave his Minions an Opportunity to ſhew *what kind of Men they were*. For *Dolabella*, whether from the Preſſure of his own Debts, or whether he was bribed by Men in that Condition, is uncertain, but he preferred a Law for cancelling all Debts; what the Romans called TABULAE NOVAE (a *new Regiſter*) by which every Creditor muſt have contented himſelf with a few Pounds in the Hundred, according as the new Regulation preſcribed.

THIS was a *popular* thing in the worſt Senſe; it had all the *indigent*, all the profuſe and diſorderly People (by much the ſupernumerary part of a great City) for its Advocates. *Antony*, a ſure Man in ſuch a Cauſe, agreed heartily to promote it; but two other Tribunes, *Aſinius Pollio* and *Trebellius*, ſtood up for Equity and the public Peace. Their Collegues grew violent upon the Oppoſition, and managed the Affair with ſo much Extravagance and Tumult, that CESAR being informed of their Proceedings after the *Alexandrian* Buſineſs was over, wavered for ſome time, whether he ſhould abandon *Armenia* to *Pharnaces*, Mithridates's Son, or haſte home to redreſs the Diſorders committed by his Favourites *. But a Remedy was ſoon applied from another quarter, which was little thought of.

IN the heat of the Conteſt, *Antony* the eldeſt Tribune took it ſtrongly into his head (I know not upon what ground) that *Dolabella* was too familiar with his Wife: and tho' he was not overſcrupulous upon ſuch points himſelf †, yet, like moſt Men of pleaſure, when the Caſe came to be his *own*, he could not ſo well digeſt it. He immediately ſent a Meſſage to the poor Lady,

* Caeſaris Comment. de bello Alexand. § 52.

† Καὶ καπῆς ἐπὶ γυναίξιν ἀλλοτρίαις ἦκεν. ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ.

Lady, to receive back her Dowry, and leave his Houſe, which was the Roman manner of Divorce, to the great diſſatiſfaction of their common Friends: for ſhe was his Couſin too, the Daughter of *C. Antony* his Uncle, who had been *Cicero*'s Collegue in the Conſulſhip. But to be revenged of her Gallant, he broke meaſures with him, patched up Matters with *Aſinius Pollio*, and by their joint Credit overturned the iniquitous Scheme. It was not baffled, however, without great Violence; for *Dolabella* would by no means deſiſt, and the indigent Rabble were too much poſſeſſed with the Project, and concerned in its Succeſs, to let it eaſily drop.

THEY aſſembled in great numbers in the *Forum*, reſolute to paſs the Law, untill *Antony* laying aſide his Tribuneſhip, took up another Character, and acted as *Maſter of the Horſe* to the *Dictator*. In this capacity he ſent Soldiers among them to diſperſe them: They met with Reſiſtance, killed ſome hundreds of the Commons *, and made the reſt quit the *Forum*, and fly to their Houſes for Shelter. To ſuch a paſs was the *Majeſty* and *Grandeur* of the *People of Rome* brought by two lewd Stateſmen, Inſtruments of *Julius Ceſar!*

YET this Story, which for its Injuſtice and Diſorder would have made a great Noiſe under the Common-wealth, and been tranſmitted to us as carefully as the *Gracchic* and *Livian* Tumults, is hardly taken notice of in the Story of the Civil War. Calamities of a deeper Dye drew off Peoples Eyes, and made this lawleſs Attempt paſs unobſerved, which, to ſay the Truth, was but one of the mildeſt Conſequences of *Julius*'s Uſurpation.

BUT from this time forward, the two Collegue-Tribunes were declared Enemies, and gave one another ſuch Marks of it, as were ſuitable to their impetuous Tempers, and diſſolute Manners. When *Ceſar*, at his return from *Spain*, named *Dolabella* to

* Inductis a M. Antonio Magiſtro Equitum in urbem militibus, octingenti è plebe occiſi ſunt. Liv. Epitom. § 113.

Spain, named *Dolabella* to the Conſulſhip, *Antony* openly ſtormed at it; and found means to perſuade the *Dictator* to take the Dignity for ſome time to himſelf. The day of Election came, when the eluded Candidate *Dolabella* ſtood up in the Senate, and painted *Antony* in ſuch Colours, as made their Patron much aſhamed of them both *. *Antony* was not behind with him; for in *open Senate*, and in preſence of the unhappy Lady's Father, he cruelly ſaid, 'That the reaſon of his oppoſing *Dolabella* was becauſe 'he had been wicked enough to debauch his Wife;' and was ſo extravagant as to add, That if *Ceſar* perſiſted in his Reſolution to name him, he, as AUGUR, would hinder the *Comitia*, or declare the Vote null, and the Meeting illegal † that ſhould elect him. *Ceſar* bore all this with his uſual Patience; for he had been long accuſtomed to wink at the Extravagancies of his faithfull Friends, who ſerved him againſt the Laws and their Country; but ſtill he kept to his Reſolution, and named *Dolabella* as his Succeſſor. *Antony*, on the other hand, was as good as his word: for when the Election, with the uſual Formalities, had paſſed thro' two Claſſes, and was upon the matter compleated, he ſtood up, and in quality of AUGUR pretended to adjourn the Aſſembly to *another day* ‡. *Ceſar* loſt his Life and ill got Power ſoon after, and *Dolabella*, little minding the Impediment

* Veniunt Kalendæ Jan. cogimur in Senatum, invectus eſt copioſius multò in iſtum (Antonium) et paratius Dolabella, quam nunc ego. Hic autem iratus, quæ dixit Dii boni! Cicero Phil. 2.

† Hic bonus Augur eo ſe Sacerdotio praeditum eſſe dixit, ut Comitia auſpiciis vel impedire vel vitiare poſſet, idque ſe facturum eſſe aſſeveravit Cicero. Philip. 2. But no Augur could do this, but upon ſome Omen appearing at the opening, or during the Courſe of the Aſſembly; which made Antony's threatning it two Months before impudent and ridiculous.

‡ Ecce Dolabellae Comitiorum dies: Sortitio praerogativae; quieſcit (viz. Antonius) renuntiatur; tacet. Prima claſſis vocatur, renuntiatur: deinde ut aſſolet, ſuffragia: Tum ſecunda claſſis; quae omnia citius facta ſunt quam dixi. Confecto negotio, bonus Augur (LAELIUM diceres) *alio die* inquit. Ibid.

thrown in by this pious *Augur*, immediately aſſumed the Rods and Axes, the Enſigns of Power. They were now again upon an equal footing: their mutual Animoſities muſt hinder both their Deſigns: it was their Intereſt to lay them aſide for ſome time; and they made up matters accordingly.

LET us now ſee the Uſe that was made of the Agreement.

THE very day that *Ceſar* met with the reward of his Crimes, his Lady *Calpurnia* dreading the enraged Mob, leſt they ſhould break open and riffle her Houſe, ſent the things of the greateſt Value for Security to *Antony*'s. There were, among other things, CESAR's *Tablets* and *Papers*; his *Jewels*, whereof he had great Variety, and *Money* to the value of ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds *. The Uſe he made of this Truſt, beſides the *Money* which he never reſtored, is hardly to be conceived. He had *Ceſar*'s Secretary, one FABERIUS, at his devotion, and by *his* aſſiſtance made what Alterations and Additions in the TABLETS he thought fit. The ACT of the Senate confirming all that *Ceſar* had done made them valid, and he as *Conſul*, having ſold them to the Perſons concerned for what he pleaſed, publiſhed them in the CAPITOL as Decrees of the Government †. He carried this Abuſe to a ſhamefull height: He granted Immunities from Taxes to States ‡, and even to Princes and whole Pro-

* Plutarch ſays it was διχίλιοι πενταχόσιοι μυριάδες. In our Money *L.*806,294 13 *s.* 4 *d.* In Cicerone.

† It was the CONSUL's Buſineſs, after any *Law* or *public Deed* was enacted, to put it in form, and cauſe it to be engraved on a Tablet of Braſs, and fix it to the Wall of the Capitol, that every body might read it. Theſe Tablets, to the number of three thouſand, were burnt with the Capitol in the *Vitellian* civil War, and were reſtored by *Veſpaſian*, who ſought out all the Copies of them ſcattered thro' the Empire. They were, ſays Suetonius, *Inſtrumentum Imperii pulcherrimum ac vetuſtiſſimum, quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis* Senatus-conſulta, Plebiſcita *de Societate, & Foedere ac Privilegio cuicunque conceſſis.* Sueton. VESPASIAN. § 8. The nobleſt and moſt antient Effects of the Empire, *&c.* Philip. 2.

‡ Multa Siculis *Caeſar* (dedit) neque me invito, etſi Latinitas erat non ferenda: veruntamen: ecce autem ANTONIUS, accepta grandi pecunia, fixit legem à Dictatore

Provinces, according to the Price at which they would purchaſe: He reſtored baniſhed Criminals to the Privileges of Citizens, and forfeited Perſons to ſuch Eſtates as had not been ſold, upon paying *him* the Sum he required: He beſtowed Largeſſes of great Value upon his old Fellow-ſoldiers, who knew that *Ceſar*'s Command was the Pretence, but underſtood the Obligation to be from *Antony*. The Inſtances of this kind would be endleſs. His Lady the famous *Fulvia* * ſat at home, and received the Money in her Bed-chamber, while this hopeful Conſul *ſold* the Common-wealth, and made out the Grants as if done by the *Dictator*. At laſt, the long Continuance and Succeſs of the Traffic made them careleſs, and they came to do the groſſeſt things in the way of Fraud. There was a Grant, for inſtance, made out for the CRETANS, by which *Ceſar* "eaſed their richeſt Cities of the uſual Taxes in the mean time, "and, to the ſurprize of every body, appointed, that after the "Expiration of *Brutus*'s Proconſulſhip, *Crete* ſhould be no longer "a Roman Province, but a *free State*." But moſt unluckily, *Crete* came only to be decreed to BRUTUS as a *Palliative* for the Affront of depriving him of *Macedon*, three Months after *Ceſar*'s Death; a Circumſtance which *Antony* in the hurry of his Commerce had it ſeems forgot. By theſe vile Methods it is thought that he made more than double the Sum † he had got of CESAR's Money from *Calpurnia*.

No body could believe that after this he ſhould think of more ways to get Money; and yet, if it be poſſible, he took a more

 openly

ſtatore Comitiis latam, quâ Siculi CIVES ROMANI; cujus rei vivo illo nulla mentio. Quid! Deiotari noſtri cauſa non ſimilis? Dignus ille quidem omni regno, ſed non per FULVIAM. Sexcenta ſimilia. CICER. ad Attic. Lib. IV. Ep. 12.

* Syngrapha H—S centies—facta in *GYNAECEO*, quo in loco plurimae res veniêre et veneunt. CICER.

This Agreement was made for DEIOTARUS's Reſtitution to his Kingdom by his Reſident at *Rome*, without his Maſter's Knowledge, for *L.* 80,000.

† *L.* 1,550,000. and upwards.

openly infamous one, which was plain Robbery. He ſeized upon upwards of Five Millions * which *Ceſar* had laid up in the Temple of *OPS* to defray the Expence of the intended *Parthian* War. This Sum the two Conſuls parted between them. *Antony* was owing about three hundred and twenty two thouſand Pounds † at the beginning of *March*, and had paid it quite off by the end of *April*. His Collegue had now a better Opportunity of doing the ſame by his Debts, than by deſtroying the public Credit with a new Regiſter. But the Theft they committed was the more invidious, that the Money laid up in the Temple of *Ops* had been the Price of the Eſtates of the old *Patrician* and *Senatorial* Families, which *Ceſar* had expoſed to Sale by public Auction, when he had overturned the Commonwealth, and killed or baniſhed the rightful Proprietors. So that in whole, what by open Rapine, what by impudent Fraud, *Antony* was computed to have amaſſed near eight Millions of Money, the Produce of the Bravery and Virtue of *ancient Rome*.

Soon after *Octavius* arrived at *Rome*, (whom we muſt henceforth call the *young* CESAR) he went to wait upon *Antony* the Conſul as his Father's great Friend, and to enquire concerning that Part of his Fortune which *Calpurnia* CESAR's Wife had committed to his keeping. The young Man found the *Conſul* in POMPEY's fine Garden, and was kept long at the door before he had Admittance; and his Reception when admitted was of a piece.

ANTONY treated him haughtily ‡; and when the Youth talked to him of his Deſign, to make good his Father's Legacies to

* *L.* 5,651,041. † *L.* 322,916.

‡ 'ΑΝΤΟΝΙΩΣ, τὸ σύμπαν, 'ΟΚΤΑΟΥΙΟΥ, ὅτε καὶ μειρακίῳ, καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπείρῳ, τήν τε κληρονομίαν, ὡς καὶ χαλεπὴν, καὶ δυσμείλαχάριστον οὖσαν ἀπωθουμένῳ, κατεφρόνησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καὶ κληρονόμος, οὐ μόνον τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυναστείας τῆς τοῦ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ὢν, πάντα διεχείριζε. ΔΙΩΝ. Βιβ. μδ.

to the People, he anſwered him in a very provoking manner; and warned him in deriſion againſt *affecting Popularity*: He told him, that as he was newly come from learning his *Greek*, he could not but know the Proverb *, *That the* PEOPLE *were unſtable, coming and going, like the Waves of the Sea*; and ſhould be cautious of depending upon their Favour. By this Treatment he ſoon perceived what Aſſiſtance he was to expect from the CONSUL: It was the harder to bear, that he had looked upon him as his *beſt Friend*; and no wonder, ſince he knew that *Antony* owed every thing to the Man whoſe *Name* he bore. But he laid too great ſtreſs upon Favours already beſtowed; moſt Men, and to be ſure the *worſt*, regulating their Conduct by future Proſpects. A Court-writer in a ſucceeding Reign † ſays, it was rather *Dread* of a riſing Genius, than *Contempt* of his Youth, that made *Antony* receive *Octavius* ſo haughtily; and a later Author ‡ aſcribes it to *Rage* and *Spite*, that *Ceſar* did not prefer his long Services to diſtant Kindred, and adopt him his loyal Lieutenant, rather than his Neice's Son. I had almoſt forgot to mention a Circumſtance concerning his Entry into *Rome*, (which no doubt appeared important to many well-meaning People.) When he approached the Town, there appeared a natural, and no uncommon *Phenomenon*, a Circle round the Body of the Sun, diverſified with all the various Colours of the Rain-bow ‖. But as this was the Form

* Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ κἀγὼ σὺ, ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΣ ** ΩΝ, ἔμαθες, ἀσάθμητον, ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσσῃ, κῦμα κινούμενον, ὃ μὲν ἦλθεν ὃ δὲ ἀπῆλθεν. Ἀππιάνε Ἐμφυλ.

** It ſhould be ἀρτιδίδακτος.

† VELL. PATERCULUS. ‡ ANN. FLORUS.

‖ An HALO. *Memoriae proditum eſt, quo die* Divus Auguſtus *urbem ex* Apolloniâ *reverſus intravit, circum ſolem viſum coloris varii* circulum, *qualis eſſe in Arcu ſolet. hoc* Graeci HALO *vocant; nos dicere* Coronam *aptiſſimè poſſumus.*

SENEC. Nat. Queſt. Lib. I. cap. 2.

Form of the Crowns of Honour which the *Romans* beſtowed upon their great Men, like other Portents, it came to be applied when the Event had come to paſs.

AT preſent, there was little Proſpect of the young *Ceſar*'s riſing to great things: He was little more than a Boy, but of great Ambition, and very enterprizing: he had made but one or two Campaigns, as a young Volunteer, when he had the Confidence to petition his Uncle *Julius*, then created Dictator, to be made *Maſter of Horſe:* It was the *ſecond* Dignity in the Common-wealth. *Lepidus* was named by the Dictator at that time, (the ſecond that he was choſen) and filled it more by the Antiquity of his Family than his perſonal Merit, and ſo could give no Umbrage.

BUT now *Antony* endeavoured to cruſh the Youth in every Enterprize. He refuſed to give him any Account of his Part of *Ceſar*'s private Eſtate; and exacted moſt exorbitant Sums to let him have the Privilege of the common Law, in being confirmed *Heir* to *Ceſar*. His Brother *L. Antony*, a rude ungracious kind of Man, was *Pretor*, at whoſe Tribunal the legal Confirmation was to be made, and the *Conſul* himſelf hired the Tribunes to impede it, that he might afterwards demand Money for giving way.

THEY continued for ſome months on theſe terms, ſometimes forced to an apparent Reconciliation by the *Favourites* and *Veteran* Officers, and quickly breaking as their oppoſite Paſſions and Intereſts inſpired. Men act both in Friendſhip and Enmity like themſelves: There was no Species of Violence left unattempted by theſe Rivals to ruin one another.—They harangued, calumniated, mobbed, and at laſt hired Aſſaſſins to ſtab, and bribed Domeſtics to poiſon each the other. Mean while both of them left *Rome*, and rode about thro' the ſeveral Towns of *Italy*, by any means to raiſe the *Veterans*, and ſecure them to their Party. Should any one aſk,—What were the Senators,—the Pretors and the real *Roman* Patriots doing all this while? The melancholly Anſwer is, that the better Part of them had fal-

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len by *Ceſar*'s devouring Sword.—The two Heroes *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and their Friends were lying by; waiting *legal* Power, and the *legal* Time to exerciſe it; and the feeble Remains of the SENATE, (CICERO and a very few excepted) were either corrupt, or inactive, and capable of little but womaniſh Wiſhes for the Proſperity of the Common-wealth.

BUT *Antony*, by ſuch Methods as we have explained, having amaſſed an immenſe Sum, thought it proper to make a Tour to the Country, leaving his Collegue *Dolabella* to look after the City; where it was not long e're *He* too had occaſion to exerciſe his Power. AMATIUS HEROPHILUS had been executed ten or twelve days; but his Crew continued to cabal after his Death, and aſſembled frequently about the *Altar* or *Pillar*, ſaid to have been erected to the Memory of *Ceſar*: they became ſo inſolent as to ſeize upon the *Forum*, and Courts of public Juſtice, and in a threatening manner to require the *Magiſtrates*, to come and conſecrate the Altar, inſtead of *Amatius*, and do ſacrifice upon it to *Ceſar*'s *Numen* *. This was *open Rebellion*, and called for a preſent Remedy; which *Dolabella* effectually applied. He ſent privately for ſome Companies of Soldiers to Town, who fell upon the Mob aſſembled about the Altar at unawares, apprehended the moſt turbulent of the Crew, and diſperſed the reſt without trouble. He proceeded with great Severity againſt the Criminals; the *Slaves* among them he inſtantly hanged, and the *others* of the Populace, according to the *Roman* manner of Puniſhment, he ordered to be precipitated from the Top of the *Tarpeian Rock*: He did not ſtop here; but ſent Maſons and demoliſhed the *Column* or *Altar*, which was the Sanction of their Rendevouz, and agreed with Paviours to pave the Foundations of it as public Ground, that it might never be reared any more.

THE ſound Part of the Senate received inexpreſſible pleaſure from the whole Affair: They thought every thing was going well. The *Demolition* of a Monument reared to the Memory of

* DEITY or GODHEAD.

of an *Uſurper*, ſeemed to look back as a Condemnation of all his Actions *. *Cicero* wrote a warm Letter of Compliment to the Conſul, formerly his Son-in-law, upon his glorious Conduct †, and was ſo perſuaded of the Effect of that exemplary Puniſhment, that he ſaid, 'BRUTUS *who had killed the Tyrant*, 'might *ſafely walk the* Forum *with a Crown of Gold on his Head.*' It did indeed quell the ſeditious part of the Populace: But it was not from them alone that Danger was to be apprehended to the State. It was from *thoſe*, who by their high Stations and important Truſts, had it in their power to do great Good or great Ill, and would do either as it ſerved for their private Ends.

ANTONY, in the mean time, with a very great Train, made a Progreſs as far as *CAPUA*. He had now almoſt obtained his Wiſh: He held the higheſt Dignity of the Common-wealth; he had the fineſt Houſes, and ſome of the faireſt Eſtates in *Italy* (no matter whether right or wrong) in his poſſeſſion: He had ſuch Men about him as he liked, both for Buſineſs and Pleaſure, whoſe Numbers he could increaſe when he had a mind. This, with the immenſe Treaſure, of which he had robbed or cheated the Public, gave him leave to purſue his Pleaſures *in his own way*, and ground to hope for their continuance.

HIS manner of Life was *wild* even in *Rome*; but when he went to the Country they talked of great Exceſſes. As Men naturally ſhew their Inclinations at ſuch times of Indulgence, it may be proper to take notice of *two Progreſſes* he had made before: for this was the *third* time he had, as it were the *Command* of ITALY, and power to trample upon its Inhabitants at his pleaſure. The firſt was when *Ceſar* went againſt *Afranius* and *Petreius*, *Pompey*'s Lieutenant-Generals, into *Spain*, and

* Magnam ἀναθεώρησιν res habet: de ſaxo; in crucem; columnam tollere; locum illum ſternendum locare. Quid quaeris? Heroica.
CICER. ad Attic. Lib. 14. Ep. 16.

† Ep. 19. Ibid.

and left *Antony* behind with a part of the Army. He was Tribune at the ſame time, and made a Progreſs thro' the Towns under pretext of keeping them quiet, and in their Duty to *Ceſar*.

THE manner of it was very remarkable: the Tribune rode in a Chariot, preceeded by the Lictors who were crowned with Laurel. Theſe Officers were never ſeen but with the higheſt Magiſtrate, and were Marks of the ſacred and ſupreme Authority of the Empire: But now in the midſt of them, in an open Chaiſe rode *Cytheris* the celebrated Actreſs. She was a Woman who to an exquiſite Beauty joined all the Accompliſhments of her Profeſſion, and we know what Wonders ſuch a Conjunction is apt to work when diſplayed upon the Stage.

To cover, if poſſible, the Infamy of carrying about an Actreſs not of the higheſt Order * with the Tribune, and in the ſame Equipage with his Mother, who was alſo in company, ſhe went by the Name of the LADY VOLUMNIA; and ſo the Gentlemen of the greateſt Reſpect called her, who were obliged to come and attend upon the Lord Lieutenant of *Ceſar*. One of his Retinue, *Volumnius Eutrapelus* lent her his Name. It was not *Volumnius* the *Senator*, but a Man of Pleaſure, and very facetious, who lived with *Antony*, acquired a handſome Fortune; and who, if I miſtake not, ſucceeded to this Miſtreſs ſome time after *Antony*'s Marriage with the excellent *Octavia* †. The reſt of his Train were nearly of a piece; reduced Gentlemen, Gameſters, Tumblers, Fencers, Drinkers, Catamites, and other Inſtruments of Riot, whom he carried thro' moſt of the free Towns and Colonies of *Italy*.

HIS ſecond Progreſs happened at his Return from *Pharſalia*. He had been a good while beyond Sea; and was coming home Victor from the Battle ſo fatal to *Rome*, full of Ho-

* She was but a MIMA, that is, a *Farce-player*.

† HORAT. Ep. 18. Lib. I. ver. 31.

nour, and with large Powers from *Ceſar*. *Cytheris* went a long Journey (quite acroſs *Italy*) to welcome her *Captain*, all the way from *Rome* to *Brindiſi*, the Place of his landing. They took no care to hide their Commerce; tho' the Stage was not near ſo honourable then, as it is with us, or rather lay under the greateſt Infamy *. Nor was the *old military Diſcipline* ſo entirely forgotten, but that it was ſtill infamous for a Man in Arms, entruſted with the *Roman* Citizens, and ſurrounded with their *Legions*, to abandon himſelf openly to Lewdneſs.

But *Antony* had then too great a Flow of Fortune to keep within Bounds. He was ſo extravagant as to ride with her in a Chariot drawn by *Lions*; the firſt Spectacle of that kind the *Romans* had ever ſeen. A grave Writer remarks, 'That the ma-'king theſe fierce Animals bend to the Yoke, was looked up-'on as an *Omen* of breaking the generous Spirit of the *Ro-'man* People †.' In this Equipage the *Roman Tribune* travelled the moſt patent Road to Town: his Plate was magnificent as if it had been for a Triumph; Tents were ſet up every where in the moſt delightfull Spots near the high way, in Groves or by River Sides, and ſumptuous Entertainments prepared againſt his arrival. When he came to any Town, his ſinging Wenches, Buffoons and lewd Creatures, were lodged in the Houſes of the People of beſt faſhion: The graveſt Men, and Matrons of the ſtricteſt Virtue, were obliged to receive theſe impudent Gueſts, whoſe abandoned Manners brought much envy upon their Maſter, and a deep deteſtation of his Debauchery. The Inſolence of the Soldiers under that looſe Diſcipline, increaſed the Outcry of the People, which grew greater and greater as he approached to *Rome*. Nor did he alter his Conduct when returned to Town: his Retainers committed all Diſorders unpuniſhed;

* Romani, hominibus ſcenicis nec plebeiam Tribum, quanto minus ſenatoriam Curiam dehoneſtari ſinunt. Augustin. de civ. Dei, Lib. I. § 13.

† Pliny.

puniſhed; they ſearched every where for Money, and Plate, under pretence that it belonged to POMPEIANS; and ranſacked the Cellars of the Citizens for Wine to ſupply his Exceſſes. From theſe Progreſſes which he made while *under Authority*, when CESAR was yet alive, we may eaſily imagine how he would manage now that he was Chief himſelf.

THE *Campania* of *Rome* * we have already deſcribed, as a large rich Country, which from the time of its being firſt conquered, had been reſerved as the Fund of a conſtant Revenue near the City: *that* and SICILY were the *Granaries* of Rome, and ſecured it from ſtarving in Times of Dearth. But firſt the Populace, and then the Soldiery did *Ceſar* ſo good Service, that he thought it would be better employed, if it was diſtributed among them. Accordingly as was ſaid, when firſt *Conſul*, he had forcibly paſſed a Law to divide a *Part* of it among the indigent Vulgar: his Death prevented the Alienation of the reſt among the Soldiery from taking place immediately; but it was too profitable a Deſign to be entirely dropt: *Antony* as Conſul took it up: He had the public Authority in his hand, and thought not fit to let it go without obliging his Friends. With this Intention he carried down his FAMILY thither; that is, the *Players*, *Buffoons* and *Paraſites*, and all the Train of diſſolute People that frequented his Houſe: Among *them*, and ſuch of the *Veterans* as had entered into his Service, he divided this beautiful Country. His *Phyſician* had upwards of two thouſand Acres; his Maſter in *Rhetoric* eighteen hun-

* Hinc (a *Sinueſſâ* in extremo *Latio*) felix illa CAMPANIA eſt: ab hoc ſinu incipiunt vitiferi colles, et temulentia nobilis, ſucco per omnes terras inclyto; atque, ut veteres dixêre, ſummum *Liberi Patris* cum *Cerere* certamen: hinc *Setini et Caecubi* obtenduntur agri: his junguntur *Falerni*, *Caleni*: dein conſurgunt *Maſſici*, *Gaurani*, *Surrentinique* montes: ibi *Laborini* campi ſternuntur et in delicias Alicae politur meſſis. Haec littora fontibus calidis rigantur, praeterque caetera, in toto mari conchylio è piſce nobilitantur. Nuſquam generoſior oleae liquor. Et hoc quoque certamen humanae voluptatis tenuere *Oſci*, *Graeci*, *Umbri*, *Tuſci*, *Campani*.

C. PLINII Nat. Hiſt. Lib. III. cap. v.

dred: the *Actors* and *Actreſſes*, and the other Minions, had their Shares; only the Foreigners, the Orator and the Phyſician, had their Lots in *Sicily*, in the rich *Leontine* Fields. *This* I ſuppoſe he did under pretence of an *Order*, (the ſame by which he had got his own Money) in *Ceſar*'s Tablets.

HAVING taken ſome days to diſpatch that Buſineſs, he led thoſe of the *Veterans* that were not better provided for, into a COLONY at *Caſilinum*, in the Neighbourhood of CAPUA. The Action was againſt Law, becauſe that Colony (*Caſilinum*) had been planted but a few years before: But he wanted to clip the Territory of its haughty Neighbour, a rich and flouriſhing City, that loved the Laws and the Senate, and was afraid of ſuch Plunderers as ANTONY. The *Roman* manner of founding a Town was to mark not only the Foundation of the Walls, but the Boundaries of its Common and Liberties with a Plough, and he took care to make the Furrow of this run near with the Ports of *Capua*. Theſe ſerious Affairs being over, he turned again to his Pleaſures, which we may ſuppoſe, among ſo much good Company, had not been much neglected.

BUT now the moſt luxurious Entertainments, and the moſt exceſſive drinking, (a new and abominable Vice in *Italy*) became the chief Buſineſs of the *Roman* Conſul. In his Return he ſtepped aſide, and took poſſeſſion of an Eſtate belonging to the celebrated MARCUS VARRO. It had never been ſold; nor had any body ever heard that *Ceſar* had meddled with the ſmalleſt part of this great Man's Fortune: on the contrary, it was known that he had not only included him in the number of thoſe Senators, whom, having no *Right* to pardon, he ſpared thro' *Contempt*; but had courted his *Aſſiſtance* to a grand Deſign of erecting a PUBLIC LIBRARY *: but *Antony* affirmed that he himſelf had ſent and bought it of *Ceſar*, while he was at *Alexandria*, and would now make good his Right. He liked the *Villa* ſo well, that he ſtirred not from it for ſome

* SUETON. in Julio, § 44.

ſome days; and in the mean time omitted no kind of Riot which he or his Friends could contrive. The Commiſſioners who came to wait upon him as their CONSUL, from the neighbouring Towns, could not ſee him; neither indeed was it *proper* they ſhould be admitted. And the Morning before he and his Company ſet out for *Rome*, they had by that early hour drunk to ſuch a pitch, that when the Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Aquinum*, a City on the road, had come to receive the Conſul, and do him the honours of the Place, his Servants were forced to carry him thro' the Streets, in a Chair with the Curtains cloſe drawn, to cover the infamous Plight of *Rome*'s ſupreme Magiſtrate.

I have no Inclination to deſcribe all the lewd Doings * that were talked off; ſtrange things were reported—but their being acted in *Marcus Varro*'s Houſe, much increaſed their Infamy. That elegant Dwelling while in *his* Poſſeſſion had been the Reſort of all the ingenious and learned Men about *Rome*. It had been famed for ſuch Converſation as *theſe* never fail to introduce where they are made welcome. *There* they uſed to conſider the Laws of their Country, and ſearch into its Antiquities †; *there* the Cuſtoms and Inſtitutions, civil and religious, of different Nations were criticiſed with Liberty and good Manners; Points of Philoſophy and Queſtions of Literature would drop in, and mingle with high Strains of Humour

* Ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, ſcorta inter matres familiâs verſabantur. Philip. 2.

† SUNT iſta *VARRO!* Nam nos (*Romanos*) in noſtrâ urbe quaſi peregrinantes, erranteſque tanquam hoſpites, tui libri quaſi domum deduxerunt, ut poſſemus aliquando *qui*, *et ubi* eſſemus agnoſcere. Tu *aetatem* patriae, tu deſcriptiones *temporum*, tu *ſacrorum* jura, tu *ſacerdotum*; tu domeſticam, tu bellicam *diſciplinam*; tu *ſedem* regionum, locorum; tu omnium divinarum, humanarumque rerum *nomina*, *genera*, *officia*, *cauſas* aperuiſti; plurimumque *poetis* noſtris, omninòque *latinis* et *literis* luminis attuliſti et *verbis*: atque ipſe varium et elegans omni fere numero POEMA feciſti, *philoſophiamque* multis locis inchoaſti; ad impellendum ſatis, ad docendum parum. M. T. CICER. de Finib. Lib. I.

mour and Pleaſantry, to diverſify and enliven a chearfull Entertainment. But now Debauchery and Buffoonry took poſſeſſion with the Change of the Maſter.

WHEN *Antony* left the Villa, and came to Town, he found DOLABELLA enjoying the honour he had gained by reſtoring quiet to the *Forum*, and puniſhing its Diſturbers: all *good Men* applauded him, and the *Senate* began to hope they had got a *Conſul*, whom they could uſe as a Bulwark againſt the Encroachments of his abandoned Collegue: But they miſtook the Man; and ſeemed to have forgot by what Steps he had himſelf riſen to that Office.

IT has been already obſerved, that BRUTUS and CASSIUS, at the Expiration of their Pretorſhips, were to have Provinces; *Brutus* was to have MACEDON, and *Caſſius* the Province he had reſcued from the *Parthians*, SYRIA: They were two of the moſt conſiderable of the Empire, *Syria* was the richeſt Government, and *Macedon* had the greateſt Army lying in it that belonged to the Republic. It conſiſted of the *veteran* Legions which *Ceſar* had pick'd out for the *Getic* and *Parthian* Wars. Theſe *Antony* could have wiſhed in any body's hands, rather than the Man's to whom by the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and what *he* called RIGHT, they juſtly belonged. He ſent for *Dolabella*, and having helped him to a little more of his Friend FABERIUS's Induſtry, he repreſented to him the Wealth of *Syria*; which he could well do, having been there at a lawleſs Time himſelf, and taſted of its affluence with his Friend *Gabinius:* he told him that the *Parthian* War annexed to it was the faireſt Field of Glory a young Man could deſire; and in ſhort, without much difficulty perſuaded him to petition for that Province, not from the SENATE, who would certainly have refuſed it, but from the PEOPLE, the common Reſource of every wild Stateſman, who wanted illegal Honours or Power: At the ſame time, if the Province was granted, "to aſk the *Army*, deſtined by *Ceſar* for the War which "threatened that Province, as the Burden of it muſt fall upon "the Pretor or Proconſul who governed it."

DOLABELLA

DOLABELLA greedily ſwallowed the Propoſition; and immediately calling an Aſſembly of the Commons to the *Forum*, of which he and *Antony* were now Maſters, he aſked and obtained the Command of *Syria*, with the *Army* intended for the *Parthian* Expedition. Before the Vote could paſs, the SENATE, extremely incenſed both by the Matter and Manner of the LAW, (for in that Form it muſt be propoſed to the People) induced one of the Tribunes, *Aſprenas*, to ſtop theſe Proceedings under pretence of ſome *Sign from Heaven:* But they were amazed when ANTONY, who they made no doubt would alſo oppoſe it, fell ſeverely upon the *Tribune*, and ordered the Call of the Votes to go forward. This was the firſt Time the PUBLIC was undeceived concerning the *Difference* between the Conſuls; for the Story of the Money and *Faberius* was not as yet generally known. But ANTONY, beſides the main End of taking ſo much Power out of the hands of thoſe Men, *with whom he could have no Friendſhip*, gained other two: firſt to raiſe a mortal Hatred between *Caſſius* and *Dolabella*; and next to ſhew the SENATE they had no ground to hope for his *Collegue*'s aſſiſtance in oppoſing himſelf. Thus was *Caſſius*'s Province, in contempt of *Ceſar*'s Appointment, at once raviſhed from him, and *Brutus*'s left without a Force to keep it in obedience, or preſerve it from the Incurſions of the *northern* People.

IT muſt no doubt appear ſtrange to Men acquainted with Affairs, "How it comes to paſs, *That theſe* TWO NOBLE ROMANS *have hitherto appeared ſo little in the Government of the Republic*. When a *Tyrant* falls, the Power uſes to paſs to the Arm that pulled him down; unleſs it be either *incapable*, or, which ſeldom happens, *unwilling* to receive it." But M. BRUTUS and C. CASSIUS having done what they did ſolely for the ſake of the LAWS and LIBERTIES of their Country, claimed no other Share in the Management of Affairs than what they were intitled to by the *Offices* they enjoyed, before they had delivered *Rome* at the peril of their Lives: So that as ſoon as

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the ACT OF OBLIVION was paſſed, and an apparent Tranquillity in view, they *ſat quietly down* under the protection of the *Laws*, whoſe Force they thought they had reſtored: they formed no Deſigns upon *Houſes* or *Lands*, laid no Projects of irregular Power or Offices for themſelves or their Friends; had no Cabals of the old *Pompeian* Partiſans, or bribing the *veteran* Officers of that Party. They gave an invincible Proof by THEIR CONDUCT, that they had acted without *ſelfiſh* Views, and had ventured their All for no other End than to reſtore Liberty to the *Romans*. They even bore with the Poſſeſſion of great Eſtates and Honours, beſtowed by *Ceſar* upon unworthy Perſons rather than diſturb the public Peace *. But what I own is ſurpriſing, when *Antony* was beginning openly to abuſe his Power, and partly by Rapine and Violence, partly by vitiating *Ceſar*'s Tablets, had rendered himſelf ſo odious, not only to the SENATE, but to the chief Towns in *Italy* †, that they joined with the Fathers, in offering their aſſiſtance to *BRUTUS*, '*To reſtrain* '*him by Force of Arms*;' and reſcue the Common-wealth, that too generous Man would not accept; but bid them, '*Let the* '*Time of* ANTONY'*s Conſulſhip expire*; *if after that he attempt*-'*ed any illegal Thing, it was the Part of the Magiſtrates then* '*in Office to keep him in his Duty*.'

IF ever *too much Goodneſs* was a Fault, it was certainly ſo here. It puts me in mind of what *Cicero* ſaid of a ſtrictly virtuous Harangue, made unſeaſonably by *Cato*, 'That it would 'have been a very proper Speech in *Plato*'s pure Republic, but 'was

* Recenti illo tempore tu omnia ad pacem, quae oratione confici non poterant; ego omnia ad libertatem quae ſine pace nulla eſt. Pacem ipſam bello atque armis effici poſſe arbitrabar: Studia non deerant, arma poſcentium, quorum repreſſimus impetum, ardoremque reſtinximus. Cicer. ad Brutum. Inter Frag.

† See above; and —— Erexerat ſe civitas in retinenda libertate conſentiens. Nos tum nimis acres. Vos *fortaſſe* ſapientius exceſſiſtis urbe eâ quam liberarâtis, Italiaeque ſua vobis ſtudia profitenti remiſiſtis.

Cicer. ad Brutum, Ep. 15.

'was a very improper one to be made to the Dregs of '*Rome*.' *Brutus*'s Management had too much of the Simplicity and Diſintereſtedneſs of a Hero for a Stateſman in a corrupt Common-wealth: It was ſtrictly agreeable to the old Forms, and ancient Spirit of the Republic, but *pernicious* in the preſent Neceſſity of preventing immediate Miſchief. Could the taking a little more Power than regularly belonged to his Office, and putting in practice the ſupreme Principle, *That every Law muſt give way to the Good of the* PEOPLE, have prevented the dreadfull Scenes of *Mutina*, the *Proſcription*, and *Philippi*, (which he was at length forced to do after theſe Calamities had come upon them) I cannot ſee where was the Crime. But rather than blame him, let us admire the ſupreme Virtue and Abſtinence of the Man, whoſe greateſt Fault was a Goodneſs incompatible with the vicious Manners of the Times in which he lived. Whether he was afterwards ſenſible of his Error I cannot tell, but he ſoon found himſelf in no Safety at *Rome*, amidſt a Multitude of *Ceſar*'s Veterans, whom *Antony* and *Octavius* were enticing to *Rome*, with high Hopes of Rewards and Plunder: Wherefore he and *Caſſius* wrote this conjunct Letter to *Antony*.

M. BRUTUS and C. CASSIUS *Pretors*,
to MARC ANTONY *Conſul*.

WERE we not perſuaded both of your Sincerity and friendly Diſpoſition towards us, we ſhould not have thought of troubling you with this Letter; but in that Temper, and with ſuch Intentions, you will certainly make it welcome.

WE are informed that the Veterans are got together in great numbers at Rome, *and that before the firſt of* June *they will be there in much greater. It would be very unlike our former Conduct, ſhould we ſuſpect you in this matter, or have any Apprehenſions of harm from you. But having put ourſelves in your hands, and by*

your particular Advice *diſmiſſed our* Friends, *not only by a general Intimation, but by ſpecial Letters to the Cities that were ready to defend us, we undoubtedly deſerve to be made Sharers of your Deſigns, and particularly in matters that concern ourſelves.*

WE therefore deſire you will let us know what you intend? Whether you think we can be ſafe in ſuch a Confluence of the Veterans? *who we hear are talking of rebuilding the* Altar: *a thing no Man can incline or approve, who wiſhes that we ſhould live in Honour and Safety. The Event makes it plain that we had* Peace *in our view from the beginning, and were aiming at nothing but the* common Liberty: *It is in no Man's power to deceive us but* yours, *from which we hope we are ſecured by your Honour and Engagements; but no other Perſon* can *do it, ſince we both have truſted you, and will continue to truſt you for the future. But our Friends are in great Concern for us; and tho' convinced of your Sincerity as well as we, yet they remember, that another may eaſier put a Mob of Soldiers upon an Attempt, than you can reſtrain them. We deſire therefore that you will ſatisfy us particularly upon theſe Points. For as to what they ſay, that the* Veterans *were warned to attend,* becauſe you were to bring a Bill into the SENATE for their Proviſion, *is very fooliſh and trifling. For who do you think will oppoſe it, ſince 'tis certain* WE *will not? No body can think us too fond of Life, who reflects that the leaſt harm cannot befall* US *without putting all into Confuſion, and entailing a general Ruin. Farewell.*

I Know of no *Anſwer* they received to this Letter, but that his Actions ſhewed them before it was long, that their Confidence in him was ill placed. In reality, what could he ſay? his Conduct would bear no Colours; and the Form and Conſtitution of the Republic afforded no Pretence to the Enemies of Liberty for an Oppoſition to its Friends: *Antony*, after he thought himſelf ſecure, ſought none, but openly bore down every thing that ſtood in his way to Empire: But the *ſmoother Men* of CESAR'S Party took their Pretexts from *private Humanity* and

and *perſonal Friendſhip*. "Could they favour the Men that "had killed their Friend and Benefactor?—might they not be "allowed to cheriſh at leaſt his *Memory*?—was it juſt to forbid an "*Officer* to mourn his *General*'s Fall, or regret the happy Days he "had paſſed under his Command?—muſt they not utter *a Sigh* "to one another upon the melancholly Occaſion—nor retain "the leaſt Gratitude to the Man who made their Fortunes?"

It was upon this footing they put their Conduct; for the great Springs of public Actions and Maxims of Government were all againſt them: Liberty, *dearer than Life*, *the Welfare of the* State, *Authority of the* Laws and *Grandeur of the Empire*, were Subjects they could not decently mention. But I cannot better repreſent their Situation than by a moſt artfull Letter of *Caius Matius*, written about this time to *M. Tullius Cicero*. That old and eloquent Stateſman, had now for ſome time but little part in the public Affairs. His natural Caution and Delicacy made him weigh his Actions too much to pleaſe a Party that demanded *thorough* Services: that ſame Diſpoſition had made him formerly ungracious to *Pompey*, and *his* ambitious Dependents. But *Cicero*'s Integrity, and great Capacity in civil Affairs, made *Ceſar* himſelf, and all the ingenious Men of his Party, treat him with much Reſpect; and the Elegancy of his private Life, and his facetious Temper, procured him many Viſits at his Country-houſe from the chief Perſons of the *Ceſarean* Miniſtry. He had retired during the Uſurpation from the *Forum* and Buſineſs, and, happily for Mankind, employed his Leiſure Hours in Learning and Philoſophy. But after the Death of *Ceſar*, thinking that the *public Liberty* was reſtored, he again appeared at the Head of the Senate, and had the chief hand in paſſing the Indemnity. But there being an old Grudge between him and *Antony*, (as indeed what Agreement could there be betwixt ſuch oppoſite Characters) who ſoon got the better of the Senate, he again retired, and was viſited by the reſt of the *Ceſarean* Party, *Panſa* and *Hirtius*, *Dolabella* and *Balbus*, as before. There was at

this time a Knot of them met together at the Waters at *Baiæ*, (the Bath of *Rome*) where the young Gentlemen, as he writes to a Friend, forced him to *declaim* * to them before Dinner, and then they retired and paſſed their Evenings together very familiarly. The greater Part of them were *Epicureans* both in Philoſophy and Life, ſpeaking according to the *vulgar* Acceptation of the Word; for had they been *real* Diſciples of EPICURUS, and practiſed the Doctrines he taught, or imitated the Example he had ſet, they had lived temperate and unaſpiring: But they contented themſelves with the *Theory*, and like other *orthodox Sinners*, left the Practice of theſe Virtues to *Brutus* and *Cicero*. He uſed therefore to ſay that his *Scholars* in Eloquence were his *Maſters* in *eating*; and that he was a bold Man, having ventured to entertain *Hirtius* without a *Peacock*.

HERE this experienced Politician had many Opportunities to penetrate into their Inclinations; and as his Love to his Country was ſincere, he ſaw with grief the deſperate Projects of theſe lawleſs Men, and acquainted *M. Brutus* with them. No doubt they would endeavour to diſſemble; for who would own that rather than miſs of an ambitious Aim, he would involve his Country in Blood and Confuſion? But it was hard to conceal themſelves from *Cicero*; he knew Men to perfection, and had curiouſly obſerved the Tempers and Characters of *Ceſar*'s Minions.

CN. MATIUS was a Man now in years, of great Experience and Capacity. His Learning and Eloquence, as well as his Reach in Buſineſs, had effectually recommended him to *Ceſar*, whoſe early Favour he improved ſo well, that he had no occaſion to aſk more under the Dictatorſhip. There is a particular Turn in his Letter, and that kind of Addreſs which conceals a different Sentiment under the greateſt Appearance of Ingenuity.

CAIUS

* It was an Exerciſe in Eloquence practiſed by the *Romans*.——See Page 2. Cicer. Ep. 28. Lib. II. ad familiares.

CAIUS MATIUS
to M. TULLIUS CICERO.

I Am bound to acknowledge the ſingular Pleaſure your Letter gave me; ſince by it I perceived that you have ſuch Thoughts of me, as I wiſhed, and indeed expected: not that I ever entertained a doubt of your good Opinion; but the high Value I put upon it, made me anxious it ſhould be ever entire: I was conſcious of nothing I had done, that could offend any good Man; much leſs could I think that YOU, *a Man poſſeſſed of every valuable Quality, would raſhly give credit to any thing, in prejudice of one whoſe beſt Wiſhes always have, and do attend you. In this Perſuaſion give me leave to anſwer ſome things, which have given you frequent occaſion to exerciſe your Goodneſs and Friendſhip in my defence: for I very well know what I am loaded with ſince* Ceſar's *Death.*

THEY blame me for being grieved *at the Death of my great Friend; and for thinking that the Man I loved had an unworthy End: They ſay that* private Friendſhip *ought to* give way to our Country; — *as if they had already made it out, that his Death has done Service to the Common-weal. But I won't play the Politician; I freely own, that I have not yet reached that Pitch of Wiſdom, as to perceive that it has: at the ſame time, it was not* Ceſar *as the Leader of a Faction whom I followed in our civil Conteſts; but I could not abandon my* Friend, *tho' I was diſpleaſed with the Tranſaction: I never* approved *of the* civil War, *nor even of the* Cauſe *of the Rupture; but did all I could to ſmother it in its Birth; and when my Friend had got every thing in his Power, I was neither tempted with the Wealth nor Honours I could eaſily have acquired, and which others, of leſs Intereſt with him than I, ſought and obtained to an extravagant degree. I was a Loſer in my private Fortune by* Ceſar's *Law* *, *tho' the greater part of thoſe who rejoice at his death, were enabled by it to preſerve their Credit, and ſtay in* Rome.

* C. Caeſaris Comment. de bello civili, Lib. III. initio. Sueton. in Caeſare, § 42.—Quâ conditione, *quarta pars* ferè crediti deperibat.

Rome. *More I could not have done for my own Life, than I did for every vanquiſhed Citizen's: And can I, who wiſhed every one of* them *ſafe, take it well that* He *who gave them their Lives ſhould periſh? eſpecially when theſe very Men were the Cauſe firſt of the Envy he drew upon himſelf, and then of his Ruin!*—You ſhall ſuffer then, *ſay they,* ſince you dare to find fault with the Deed.—*Unheard of Pride! They ſhall glory in the Action, and others muſt not groan in Safety! We allow our Slaves the free Uſe of their Paſſions; they may have their Fears, their Joys and their Griefs as they pleaſe: which yet theſe Gentlemen, the Authors, as they ſay, of our Liberty, want to curb in* us *by Terror and Violence. But they may ſpare their pains: for no Proſpect of Danger ſhall ever make me flinch from my Duty, or from the Exerciſe of* Humanity. *An honourable Death is a thing I never thought was to be avoided, but in many caſes deſired. Yet why ſhould they be offended, if I wiſh they may repent them of what they have done? For it is certainly true, I would have* Ceſar's *Death embittered to every body.*——But ought not I, in what regards the Public, to wiſh well to the Intereſt of my Country?

AS for that, *if my paſt Life and future Hopes evince it not, tho' I ſhould hold my Tongue, I deſire no Man to believe me upon the Subject: And for this reaſon, let me,* Cicero, *beg it of you, that the things themſelves may have more weight with you than all I can ſay* *, *and when you ſee it is* my *Intereſt, that all ſhould go right, you will then believe I can be in no concert with bad Men.*

SHALL I—who kept true and ſteady to my Country, in my younger days, when Errors are moſt excuſable, take up a new Conduct now in my Decline, and alter the Scheme *of my whole Life? I never will——, nor wittingly do any one thing that may give juſt Offence; ſave that I muſt always lament* the hard Fate of a great Man, to whom I had ſo many Obligations. *Were it otherwiſe, I ſhould never go about to deny what I had afterwards a mind to do; that I might not paſs both for a bad Man in doing amiſs, and a Coward*

* Mihique, ſi ſentis expedire, *recte fieri*, credas nullam communionem cum improbis eſſe poſſe.

Coward in diſſembling it. But why did you then overſee the Games, which the young *Ceſar* celebrated to the memory of his Father's Victories? *That was an Office of* private *Friendſhip, and of no* public *Concern; it was a Duty I owed to the* Memory *of* ſuch *a Friend when he was gone; and which I could not refuſe, when aſked of me by a Youth of ſo great Hopes as the* young Ceſar.——*I* am often *too*, at *Antony*'s Houſe, to pay my Compliments to the Conſul; *where, give me leave to ſay it, you will find abundance of thoſe very Gentlemen that ſuſpect my Affection to my Country,* petitioning—and receiving ſubſtantial Anſwers: *But what intolerable Arrogance is this!—A thing* Ceſar *himſelf never meddled with, but permitted me to be well with what People I thought fit, tho' none of his Wellwiſhers, that yet* they *who have robbed me of my Patron, muſt likewiſe try to frighten me from chuſing what Friends I pleaſe. But I am not at all afraid, that either the* Tenor *of my paſt Life ſhould not be able to protect me from* idle Reports, *or that even thoſe, who diſlike my Conſtancy to* Ceſar, *would not in their Hearts prefer a Friend like* me *to one like* themſelves. *As for my own part, if I can have my Wiſh, I reſolve to paſs the Remainder of my days in quiet at* RHODES; *or if any Chance forbid it, I ſhall ſo live at* ROME, *as always to wiſh* every thing may go right *.

I am exceedingly indebted to Trebatius, *for letting me know your open and friendly Diſpoſition towards me; and making it now more than ever my Duty to cultivate an Affection for you, to which I have always been led by Inclination. Farewell.*

JULIUS

* Mihi quidem, ſi optata contingent, quod reliquum eſt vitae in otio *Rhodi* degam; ſin caſus aliquis interpellârit, ita ero ROMAE, *ut rectè fieri* ſemper cupiam. *Theſe are the* ſhort genteel *Expreſſions, under which a Man attached to the Deſtroyer of his Country, chuſes to mention their* Laws *and* Liberties, *and every thing that was dear to them. To underſtand throughly the* Art *and* Delicacy *of this Letter, the one that gave Occaſion to it, the* 27*th of the* 11*th Book of* Cicero's *Letters* to his Friends *muſt be read; and at the ſame time ſee* the *real Opinion* Cicero had of Matius *in the firſt five of the* 14*th Book to* Atticus, *and the laſt Sentence of the* 9*th Letter. In theſe he does not deſign* Matius *by his Name, but by the Appellations of* CALVENA, MADARUS, φαλάκρωμα, *becauſe he was early bald; a Deformity incident to free Livers, which the* Roman Dreſs *did not hide.*

JULIUS CESAR had deſigned to celebrate *magnificent Games* at the Dedication of a grand Temple he had built towards the end of his Wars. It was to be conſecrated to PARENT-VENUS, as a Return of Gratitude for her Aid in his Victories, and other more genuine Favours. There were not wanting Undertakers for the intended Games, while *Ceſar* was alive, but after his death, either thro' fear or negligence, they were in a fair way of being forgotten, if his adopted Son had not thought it his Intereſt to put the People in mind of the Man who had formerly given them ſo many Entertainments of that kind. He employed *Julius*'s old Friends, *Matius* and *Poſthumus*, to provide every thing, and direct the Performance. This was the common way of courting the PEOPLE: They had been ſo long uſed to it, that no body muſt pretend to *Popularity*, or hope for the *Honours* which the *People* diſpoſed off, that neglected it. Among the many extravagant ones that had been voted to *Ceſar*, there was an Act, 'That a *Chair* and *Crown of Gold* ſhould be ſet for him at 'all public Games, whether he were preſent or no.' This they would have continued to do at *theſe*, after he was dead; but the *Tribunes*, not without *Antony*'s Privacy, interpoſed; and the *Equeſtrian Order* (the *Roman Gentry*) expreſſed great Diſſatisfaction at the *Attempt*.—This was mortifying to the young Man; yet he bore it very ſmoothly; and a new *Portent* that appeared, helped to keep up his Spirits. "While theſe Games of "mine (ſaid he in his *own Memoirs*) were celebrating, a *bla-* "*zing Star* was ſeen towards the North. It roſe about five in "the Evening, and was bright and viſible to all the World for ſe-"ven days together. The *Common* People, he added, believed "it to be the *Soul of* CESAR, received into the number of the "*Immortals*; for which reaſon we put a *Star* upon the Head of "the Statue conſecrated to him in the *Forum* not long after *."

So

* "Eo ſidere ſignificari *Vulgus* credidit Caeſaris animam, inter Deorum im-"mortalium numina receptam; quo nomine id inſigne ſimulacro capitis ejus quod "mox in Foro conſecravimus adjectum eſt."

So he talked to the World about it; but in his heart, he applied it with a ſecret joy to *himſelf*: * 'That it was his *own* Star; 'the Planet that ruled at his Nativity, and here happily appear-'ing at the firſt public Enterprize he had undertaken.' Theſe things were rendered remarkable by the After-greatneſs of this Youth: had his adoptive Father fallen in *Spain* or *Theſſaly*, he would have paſſed for another *Catiline*, and had the Son continued in a private Condition, we had never heard of the Aſcendant at his Birth, or of the Comet appearing at the Games of his Parent's Conſecration.

THE firſt of *June* was now approaching, to which ANTONY as *Conſul* had prorogued the Meeting of the *Senate*. The *Provinces* were then to be regulated, and what other things the *Conſuls* had to propoſe, were to be heard and conſidered. *Antony*, as was obſerved, had already the material Parts of Power in his hands: The *Treaſure* he had amaſſed, the *Guard* he had taken into his ſervice, the *Friends* he had made by the Diviſion of the Lands, and *Ceſar*'s Will, were great Acquiſitions: he now wanted a legal Title to ſuch *Provinces*, as lay moſt conveniently for bearing ſway in *Rome*, and commanding the Empire; and at the ſame time, to make ſuch Changes in the *Laws*, and ſovereign *Courts*, as might beſt provide for his own and his Friends Impunity. That he might do this with the leſs oppoſition, he increaſed the number of his Guard, and marched in hoſtile Order towards *Rome*. The Morning of the Senate's Meeting, he poſted Files of armed Men at ſuch Avenues of the Senate-houſe as he thought proper: I think it was the Temple of CONCORD they met in at that time. The open avowed manner in which this was done, ſhewed that it was by no means his Deſign to conceal his Procedure; and was Warning enough to any obnoxious Senator,

* Haec ille in publicum: interiore gaudio, ſibi illum natum, ſeque in eo naſci, interpretatus eſt. Plinii Lib. II. Cap. 25.

IT would ſeem it had been a *Buſt* by this way of ſpeaking: *ſimulacrum capitis*, the Figure of his Head, on his Coins.

that knew how *roundly* he uſed to go to work, to keep out of the way. *Lucius Ceſar*, tho' *Julius*'s Couſin and *Antony*'s Uncle, durſt not look near the Senate-houſe; nor did the good *Philip*, *Atia*'s Huſband, think fit to attend ſo dangerous an Aſſembly. The noble *L. Cotta*, the wiſe *Servius Sulpicius*, and *M. Cicero*, the moſt eminent of the Conſulars, kept away for fear of being murdered. Even *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, two of the Favourites, and Conſuls elect for next Year, hardly thinking themſelves ſafe *, retired to the Country, whither *Hirtius*, without much entreaty, prevailed upon *Cicero* to accompany them. It would be needleſs after this to ſay, that BRUTUS and CASSIUS could not truſt themſelves to this veteran Guard, nor at all in Town among ſuch a Throng of *Ceſarean* Swordſmen: *Antony* had juſt gone thro' them, and had tendered an Oath to them, by which they ſwore to ratify and maintain whatever *Ceſar* had decreed and done; and to make ſure of it, he propoſed to appoint a particular Sett of new Officers to inſpect the Records once a Month, and make their Report whether *Ceſar*'s Will was obſerved accordingly.

IN the Abſence of theſe great Men, and much more of the *other* murdered Princes of the Senate, *Antony* did in it what he pleaſed. The firſt day he paſſed an ACT, impowering the *Conſuls*, (*Dolabella* and *himſelf*) '*from that preſent time, to take Co-*
'*gnizance and determine*, WITH ADVICE, *what Grants had been*
'*made by* CESAR.' This, in effect, was a Power to make not only all he himſelf had done *Deeds of Ceſar*, but to add whatever more an indigent Army, and his own Profuſion required; for that Proviſion (*ex conſilio*) WITH ADVICE, was merely put in for decency, but had no force, he conſulting only his Neceſſities upon that Head.

HE next proceeded, without the leaſt regard to the previous legal Forms uſed in ſuch Caſes, to repeal or rather to elude one of *Ceſar*'s Laws: that ambitious Man, after he had overturned the Conſtitution, and made himſelf Maſter of the *Romans*, wiſhed his

* Coss. deſignati, ſe audere negabant in Senatum venire. Philipp. I.

his new Subjects to live orderly, and give him as little trouble as poſſible; and therefore to prevent the common Practice, well known to himſelf, of inſtigating the *Populace*, or inflaming the Mob againſt any Perſon or Meaſure, had enacted *Baniſhment* (or forbidding the uſe of Fire or Water) as the Penalty of a Riot or Treaſon: their Deſcription of Treaſon was, *the doing any thing detrimental to the Grandeur of the* Roman *State*. *Antony* had no good-liking to this Law; he thought it might bear hard upon ſome of his Inſtruments; and therefore preferred another, *That to Perſons condemned for Rebellion or Treaſon, there ſhould ly an Appeal to the* PEOPLE.

THIS was a certain Method to elude both *Ceſar*'s Law, and all Laws of the ſame tendency; and indeed to prevent any Perſon's being ever accuſed or condemned upon that ſcore for the future: for *who* would accuſe a popular Man of bad Deſigns, or violent tumultuous Proceedings, when the *People*, his Aiders and Abettors were to be his Judges in the laſt Reſort? Or ſuppoſe him accuſed and convicted before another Tribunal, what Judge would venture to condemn the Man, who by an Appeal could call him to give account of his Sentence to a mercenary Multitude, Partners in the Guilt?

BUT to put all this in *friendly* hands, and to ſecure himſelf and his Gang from being called to any kind of account, he added a third DECURIA of *Judges* to the former two. The *Roman* Conſtitution gave the Cuſtody of their Laws, to Men of ſuch Characters and Eſtates as were likely to be the moſt incorrupt *: It both preſcribed the yearly Rent a Man muſt neceſſarily be poſſeſſed off, in order to qualify him for that ſacred Truſt; and likewiſe reſtricted it to ſuch *Profeſſions* as were

 thought

* Ὁ δὲ (Νόμος Γαΐᾳ Γράκχῳ) ἦν δικαστικὸς, ᾧ τὸ πλεῖον ἀπέκοψε τῆς τῶν συγκλητικῶν δυνάμεως. (μόνοι γὰρ ἔκρινον τὰς δίκας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβεροὶ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦσαν) ὁ δὲ τριακοσίους τῶν ἱππέων προσκαλέσεν αὐτοῖς, οὕστι τριακοσίοις, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις κοινὰς τῶν ἑξακοσίων ἐποίησε. Plutarch. Γ. Γρακχ.

These were the two DECURIAS; *Antony*'s was the third.

thought to have the beſt Influence upon the Minds and Manners of their Profeſſors. But *Antony* wanted a Court of CENTURIONS. Theſe military Gentlemen were not excluded before; only they muſt be poſſeſſed of the Eſtate required by Law: But by *this* ACT, whoever had been once at the Head of a Troop, let him be of what Character or Eſtate he pleaſed, might be made *a Judge*; and accordingly ſeveral ſturdy *Gauls*, *Cretans*, and *Acheans*, who had been good *Halberdiers* in his or *Ceſar*'s Army, were now venerable Judges upon the Bench at *Rome*.

HAVING thus provided for his own and his Friends Security, he next enlarged their *Power*. He ratified a Law, and affixed it in the Capitol, which he had got the People to paſs clandeſtinely, without previous Promulgation *, a little before. It was a Matter of no leſs Moment than *a Prorogation for five Years of the Governments of Provinces to their preſent Governors*: It was contrary to an expreſs Statute of *Ceſar*'s, *That no Pretor ſhould govern a Province more than one Year, nor any Conſul more than two* †: (*happy for himſelf and for* Rome, *if he had never kept one longer!*)— But this violent Vote was not only a Suſpenſion, or rather Abrogation of that Law, but an overturning of all *Ceſar*'s Deſtinations, and of the Decree of the Senate confirming them: however that was compenſated, as by its means the Province of *Macedon*, among others, which fell to M. BRUTUS, and lay ſo conveniently for tranſporting Troops into *Italy*, was kept in the hands of *Antony*'s Brother CAIUS, then Pro-pretor ‡; and *Syria*,

* Ac de iis legibus quae *promulgatae* ſunt, ſaltem queri poſſumus; de iis quae jam latae dicuntur, ne illud quidem licuit; illae enim NULLA PROMULGATIONE latae ſunt, ante quam ſcriptae. CICER. Philippic. I.

† Ne *praetoriae* provinciae plus quam annum, neu plus quam biennium *conſulares* obtinerentur. Ibid.

‡ —Μακεδονίαν δὲ, τὴν ΜΑΡΚΩ τῷ ΒΡΟΥΤΤΩ ἐκ τῆς κλήρου δεδομένην, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς ΓΑΙΟΣ σφετερίσασθαι. ΔΙΩΝ. Bιβ. μς.

Syria, which fell to C. CASSIUS, was to remain under the Government of his Enemy *Dolabella*. This being Buſineſs enough for one day, he adjourned the Senate to the *fifth*.

IN the Interval he turned apprehenſive leſt his furious driving ſhould put Men upon a quicker Oppoſition than would be for his advantage. The violent wreſting the Provinces from *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, was a bare-faced Injury done to Men not well-ſhaped for brooking Affronts. He wiſhed to keep fair with them for a while, at leaſt in appearance, and would try to alleviate the Injury by an *Exchange*. The SENATE (if the Part of it that remained was to be called ſo) were glad of any thing to cover the Injuſtice of ſo flagrant a Buſineſs. They met again upon the fifth of *June*, and in regard that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* could not exerciſe their Town-magiſtracy in ſafety, they gave it them in charge *to provide Corn from* Aſia *and* Sicily *for the public Uſe*; and inſtead of the Provinces taken from them, by the Vote of the People, decreed, that *Brutus* ſhould have CRETE, and *Caſſius* AFRIC, at the Expiration of the Year.*

IT is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that theſe Proceedings of *Antony*'s were as oppoſite to *Ceſar*'s Plan of Government, as they were to good Order and the public Quiet: ſo ſoon do People forget what has been the conſtant *Cry* of a Party when their Intereſt varies! The maintaining *Ceſar*'s ACTS, and keeping religiouſly to his Will, even to the minuteſt Deſign he had marked in his Pocket-book, had been the *Word* for ſome Months; but his Laws were obeyed, and his Will fulfilled much after the ſame manner: for *Antony* thought it proper to remove the *Statues* and *Pictures* CESAR had left with his Gardens to the PEOPLE, part of them into the *Pompeian*, and the reſt into *Scipio*'s Villa, of which alſo he had now made himſelf Maſter.

FROM

* The Corn-office was mean for Perſons of their Rank; the Provinces but poor, and lying inconveniently for *Italy*, were therefore eaſily conſented to.

FROM this time forth, looking upon himſelf as ſecure, he was at little pains to diſſemble. I cannot certainly tell whether he made any prior Application to the *Senate*; but ſoon after this, having called the COMMONS to the *Forum*, he told them openly, "That it was very true, there were *ſome* who were well pleaſed "that one of *Ceſar*'s Murderers ſhould command his Legions, "and rule his Provinces; but that he hoped THEY would not "tamely ſuffer ſuch an Affront to his Memory." He wanted to rid himſelf of a troubleſome Neighbour *Decimus Brutus*, who was lying in the nearer *Gaul* (the *Modeneſe* in *Lombardy*) with a good Army. *Antony* had long an Eye upon that Province, both for its Wealth and convenient Situation, on the Borders of *Italy*. The wretched Multitude heard him with pleaſure. They had often taſted in their low way of *Ceſar*'s Bounty, that is, ſhared in his Plunder; and were become ſo *mean* as to think it no Indignity to hear the *Roman* Armies and Provinces talked of, as the Property of the Uſurper. The *Province* was quickly voted to *Antony*, and a Pretence thereby given him to tranſport Troops into a plentifull Country, from whence he had an eaſy March to *Rome*.

AT the ſame time, by a treaſonable Compact with *Dolabella* he obtained *five* of the beſt Legions that were in the *Roman* Service. They belonged to *Dolabella* by the Act that gave him *Syria* and the Conduct of the *Parthian* War; but were lying in the Province of *Macedon*, whither *Antony* ſent Meſſengers preſſing his Brother *Caius* to ſhip them off for *Italy*. The Report of their coming ſtruck Terror into the Senate: they had been truſty Servants to the Deſtroyer of their Liberties, who had trained them up to his lawleſs purpoſes; and it was not probable they would make any ſcruple to do the ſame Services to *Antony*, who was treading in his ſteps; and who by his *Commands* and *Treaſures* had attained almoſt a *monarchical* Power, and ſeemed too much in condition to eſtabliſh it.

HERE,

HERE, I cannot avoid complaining of one of the moſt accompliſhed of the *Roman* Gentlemen, *T. Pomponius Atticus*, who owes the Immortality of his Name to his Friendſhip with *Cicero*, and eſpecially to the elegant epiſtolary Correſpondence that was the Fruit of it *: He was certainly a Friend to Liberty and good Order at bottom; but carried the Principle of the *Epicurean* Philoſophy which he profeſſed, *Not to meddle with public Affairs* †, rather too far. He had been intimately acquainted with *M. Brutus* from his Youth, admired his Virtue, and been the chief Inſtrument of conciliating the ſtrict Intercourſe between him and his Friend *M. Cicero*. He held him in ſuch Veneration, that when *Tully* was Proconſul of *Cilicia*, *Pomponius*, in recommending to him a Concern of *Brutus*, added, 'that he ſhould 'think all CICERO's Fatigue and Labour in his Government well 'beſtowed, tho' he ſhould bring nothing away, but M. BRU-'TUS's Friendſhip.'

THERE was a Man of the ſame Turn and Manners with *Brutus* himſelf, and who had a ſuitable Attachment to him, *C. Flavius*, a *Roman* Knight of a good Family and Fortune ‡, and of a better Spirit. It was he who made the bold Stand againſt *Ceſar* after his Victories, that amazed *Rome*. The Dictator behaved *ambiguouſly* when preſſed to aſſume the Title of *KING*: his greateſt Favourites were the Men who made a ſhew *to force* it upon him: and one of the Multitude thinking he might copy after them and curry favour, took a Garland of Laurel, and twiſting

* Nomen ATTICI perire *Ciceronis* epiſtolae non ſinunt: nihil illi profuiſſet gener *Agrippa*, et *Tiberius* progener, et *Druſus Caeſar* pronepos.

SENECA. Epiſt. xix.

† Μὴ πολιτίυεσθαι.

‡ C. FLAVIO *honeſto* et *ornato* Equite Rom. valdè familiariter utor——et tibi affirmo, te ex ejus obſervantiâ, et praeterea *ſplendore*, atque inter ſuos *gratiâ* magnam voluptatem eſſe capturum. CICER. ad Aeil. Siciliae PROCONS.

twiſting a *royal Diadem* * about it, put it upon one of *Ceſar*'s Statues in the *Forum*. The Tribunes, *C. Flavius* and *Epidius Marullus*, as Guardians of the Liberties of the *Roman* People, boldly interpoſed, ordered the fellow to priſon, and the royal Enſign to be torn from the Garland. CESAR took high Offence; —being by their Raſhneſs, as he pretended, deprived of the *Glory of giving the Refuſal.* Wherefore, among the other Powers of the Republic, accumulated in his Perſon, being then CENSOR, he ſtript them both of their Honours, and declared them incapable thenceforth of bearing Office in the State. In the height of his Wrath, he had almoſt broke out into deeper Revenge †; but he was ſo ulcerated by that legal Deed, that he ſent for old *Ceſetius Flavius* the Father, and told him he would do great things for his *other* Children, if by his paternal Authority he would put a Mark upon the audacious Tribune, and diſinherit his eldeſt Son. The old Knight anſwered him coolly; *You will find it*, Ceſar, *an eaſier matter to deſtroy every Child I have by* YOUR *Power, than to make me caſt out any one of them by* MINE. It is not ſtrange to find the Son of a Man, capable of making ſuch a Reply to the Dictator, (whoſe Sword had made the World and *Rome* bow before him) oppoſing *Ceſar* in his Lifetime, and after his Death, a firm Friend to *Brutus*. He roſe to be his Maſter of Artillery, Lieutenant General, and Deputy Governor of his Provinces, and ſtruck a Medal as a Monument of his Dignity and Gratitude. ‡

THIS

* Corona laurea, candidâ Faſciâ praeligata. SUETON. in Julio.
ΔΙΑΔΗΜΑ, *στεφάνῳ δαφνῆς περιπεπλεγμένον.* Πλούταρχ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.
The DIADEMS of the Ancients were not like our *Crowns*; but a *white Liſt* or *Fillet* tied round the Head, (as the Word ſignifies) the Enſign of Royalty.

† Pene vim dominationis experti. VELL. PATERCUL.

‡ On one ſide, the Head of BRUTUS, and C. FLAVIUS. HEMIS. LEG. PROPR. on the Reverſe, a Victory crowning a Trophy, and Q. CAEP. BRUTUS. IMP. URSIN. Famil. *Flavia* et *Junia.*
Q. CAEP. was a Name aſſumed by *Brutus* in virtue of an Adoption.

THIS Gentleman was ſent to *Atticus* upon a very important Errand. *Antony*'s ill Intentions had ſoon appeared by his Conduct; and, tho' he was very gracious with the lewd Soldiery, yet the *Senate*, the *Cities* of *Italy*, and all the *ſober Part* of the Common-wealth had him in abhorrence. Their Eyes therefore turned upon their Deliverers *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, to rid them of a *ſecond* Maſter, loaded with many more Vices than the firſt; and they accordingly ſent them Proffers of their utmoſt Aſſiſtance: But as *Antony* was become formidable; had levied a great Body of Men, and was poſſeſſed of much Money to pay them, it was thought proper, that the *Roman Knights*, a rich and powerfull Order, ſhould by contribution eſtabliſh a *Fund*, to enable the Friends of the Republic to oppoſe him. This would have been eaſily brought to bear, if ſome of the leading Men in that honourable Body had ſet the reſt an Example, and ſubſcribed large Sums to the *Patriot-Fund*. *T. Pomponius Atticus* both by his *Age*, (now after ſixty) his Character, and ſplendid Fortune, was the Man of the greateſt Authority of *Equeſtrian* Rank. To him therefore, in his Friend *M. Brutus*'s Name, FLAVIUS firſt applied; told him of the Scheme, and urged the Reaſons for his leading in a Meaſure ſo neceſſary for the public Security, with the Warmth inſpired by the Love of *Brutus* and *Rome*. The old *Epicurean* heard him,—and bid him carry back for anſwer, *That if* M. BRUTUS *ſtood at any time in need of his Purſe, it was always at his ſervice as far as it would go:* —— *But that he would neither enter into any* Society *for raiſing ſuch a Fund, nor ſo much as meet with any Perſon to commune upon the Subject.* This reſolute Refuſal diſheartened the reſt, and quaſhed a ſalutary Project, which might have enabled *Brutus* and *Caſſius* to have accepted of the zealous Offers of Men and Arms made them by the *Italic* States, to have defended ITALY itſelf, and thereby prevented the Slaughter at *Mutina*, the Junction of the broken *Ceſareans*, and the horrible enſuing Proſcription. So miſchievous was the Effect

of the mean narrow Principle of *taking care of yourſelf, and your own quiet in the firſt place; and letting every thing beſide go to ruin.* It was the more ſurpriſing from *Atticus*, as no Man was more intimate with *Brutus* at that very time; and, notwithſtanding the Diſparity of their Years, was uſed by that great Perſon, not only as a *Counſellor*, but as a daily *Companion*: Yet I do not find that he retained any Reſentment, tho' he loſt not the Memory of this unhappy Refuſal. He ſeems rather to contrive an Excuſe for it, and with his wonted Goodneſs, tells him in a Letter, 'That he cannot abſolutely condemn his Conduct;—that both 'his Years,—his abſtracted Manner of Life,—and Concern for 'the Welfare of his Children, all conſpired to deter him from 'Action, or expoſing himſelf to Danger; as he underſtood from '*C. Flavius* his Friend.'

But while the Conſuls were thus buſied in pulling down the Structure they ought to have preſerved, two Sets of Men were naturally forming, who kept at preſent aloof from public Affairs, but were concerting Meaſures for the future. The firſt conſiſted of all the Friends to Liberty and Virtue, that were attached to, or in correſpondence with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, their Deliverers: The other, of the ſecondary Leaders of the *Ceſarean* Party, at preſent eclipſed by *Antony* and *Dolabella*, but hoping ſoon to come into play themſelves: Theſe were *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, with the *young Ceſar*, yet at a diſtance from Power, becauſe of his extreme Youth; but conſiderable by the Attachment of ſome of the *Veterans*, and the favour of the People. Between theſe two Parties was placed *M. T. Cicero*, a Heart-Friend to the former, and very familiar with the latter; and therefore ſerving as a Cement to keep them in a good Underſtanding.

It was undoubtedly this familiar way of living, that made *Brutus* and *Caſſius* imagine *Aulus Hirtius* might be won over to the *better Party*. Cassius wrote a very earneſt Letter to *Cicero*, "*to try to keep him well affected to the Common-wealth:*" Cicero

in

In answer to a great Truth, "that HIRTIUS *was indeed angry with* Antony, *but a Well-wisher to his Cause*:" Yet he wrote to him as he was desired, and with his usual Address, after a Question or two about the Senate, magnified the Service he might do his own Reputation and the Public, in preserving its Peace and securing its Liberty; which he said, could not be done if *Brutus* and *Cassius* were not maintained in the possession of their Honours and Dignity; and therefore took upon him to recommend *their* Concerns to him as the same with the *Public*'s, and a Conjunction of Interests that must produce the best Effects. *Hirtius* soon returned him this Answer.

YOU ask whether I be still in the Country? Do you suppose that I, when every Man is upon his mettle, would choose to indulge Sloth? I have even got out of Town the second time, thinking it more proper for me to be absent than in the Senate; and write you this, so far on my way to Tusculum; *—— yet don't imagine neither that I am a Person of such Activity, as to hurry back in five days against the next Meeting: nor do I see any great Use for our Attendance, since every thing is regulated for so many Years.*

As for Brutus *and* Cassius, *I wish, that with as much ease as I can grant what you ask for them, you could persuade them not to take any* warm Resolution. *You say they wrote to you,*—giving way. *How* giving way? Whither pray? Or for what? *For Heaven's sake,* CICERO, *try to restrain them. Don't let all that has been done for the public Quiet be ruined: You know Fire, and Sword, and Rapine must ensue: Only, if they are apprehensive of Danger to themselves, let them be* upon their guard, *but attempt nothing besides. I am firmly persuaded, that the boldest Resolve they can take, will not do their Business so effectually as slower Counsels, if they be carefully followed. For as things go at present, they cannot be very lasting; but are capable of doing Mischief if brought to an immediate Struggle. Direct for me at* Tusculum, *and let me know what you believe they will do. Farewell.*

Cicero aſſured him they were taking no *warm* Reſolution; and ſaid to a Friend, '*That he perceived the* Ceſarean *Party were* '*more afraid of the other than they needed to be.*' *Hirtius* and *Panſa* were certainly Enemies to *Antony*. They wiſhed his Conſulate were at an end, and at the ſame time, that *Brutus* and his Friends might be in no Condition to meddle with Affairs, that they might have the better Game when they came upon the Field themſelves.

ALL this while that great Man kept in the Country. He had left *Rome*, from a juſt Apprehenſion of the Fury of the *Veterans* ſpirited up by *Antony*; and was likewiſe informed that the young *Ceſar* had hired ſome Ruffians to murder him. But upon the News of theſe ſtrange Doings, his Friends came all about him. He was at *Antium*, a delightfull Village upon the Sea ſide, famous for the celebrated Temple of FORTUNE*. His Mother *Servilia* was with him, and her Daughter *Tertia* (or *Tertulla*) *Caſſius*'s young Wife. His own *Porcia* was there too; *Cato*'s Daughter: *Cicero* paſſed over to them from his Country-Houſe, and *Favonius*, *Cato*'s Admirer, made up the illuſtrious Company.

WHEN they came to talk of Affairs, and their preſent Situation, M. CICERO, the Man of the greateſt Experience, opened the Conſultation. He was of opinion, "that BRUTUS "ſhould accept of the Handle given him by the *Senate*, and go "for *Aſia*; that CASSIUS ſhould likewiſe go to *Sicily*, there being "nothing preſently to be done but to take care of *themſelves*; "that in ſo doing they provided for the Welfare of the Public, "which now depended upon their Perſons and Proſperity." He had ſcarcely ſaid ſo when *Caſſius* himſelf came in and joined them: *Cicero* began to repeat what he had been ſaying,—of their accepting the Employment of providing Corn for ROME, when *Caſſius* interrupted him, and with a reſolute Countenance †, ſaid; *he would never go to* Sicily, *nor ever accept of a Favour given with*

* HORAT. Lib. I. Ode xxxv. † Fortibus ſane oculis.

with ſuch Indignity. "What will you do then? ſaid *Cicero.*" "*I'll* "*go ſtraight to* ACHAIA." "And you, *Brutus*, ſaid the ſame "Perſon, what will you do?" "*I'll go to* Rome, *if you think* "*proper.*" "I think it by no means proper, ſaid *Cicero:* you "will not be ſafe there." "*But ſuppoſe I could*, replied BRU-"TUS, *would you approve my going?*" 'So much, that with my 'good Will, you ſhould not look near your *Province*, neither 'now, nor when your Pretorſhip was out: But the Suppoſition 'is groundleſs; for things are in that Ferment there, and in 'thoſe Hands, that you could have no Security of Life or Di-'gnity."

'TWAS then they all began to complain, and particularly *Caſſius*, "That they had neglected ſuch glorious Opportunities, "when every thing might have been ſettled; and heavily "blamed *D. Brutus*, who having three Legions at hand, did not "march them directly to *Rome*, and prevent *Antony's* growing "ſo formidable; hinder him from paſſing ſuch iniquous Laws, "and embezzling ſo much of the public Money as he had "done." To this *Cicero* replied, "*It was very true, the Complaint* "*was well founded; but it was too late, and ſerved no purpoſe to* "*recall theſe things* now; *they were* paſt *and* over, *and could not* "*be remedied: That without doubt the* Senate *ought to have been* "*inſtantly called, and the* People *inflamed with Liberty and Re-*"*venge, while the heroic Deed was warm, and the* Romans *in ad-*"*miration of their Deliverers; that* then *they might have done* "*what they pleaſed, and put the* WHOLE REPUBLIC *upon another* "Footing *." SERVILIA then broke out, "that ſhe had never "heard any body ſay ſo before!"—At which *Cicero* bit his Lip, —ſtopt ſhort in his Diſcourſe, and did not touch upon a ten-der Point with which he was going to conclude, '*That ſome others*

* Meminiſtin' me clamare illo ipſo primo *capitolino* die, SENATUM in capitolium a PRAETORIBUS vocari. Dii immortales! quae tum opera effici potuerunt, laſtantibus bonis, etiam *ſat* bonis, fractis latronibus——?

CICER. ad Attic. Lib. XIV. Ep. 10.

other's ſhould have accompanied Ceſar *: it would ſeem he was cautious in preſence of ſo many Ladies, or unwilling to offend *Servilia*, who had been long connected with the other Party.

THEY broke up therefore with this Reſolution, that *Brutus*, as *Prætor*, ſhould order Games to be made *with the utmoſt Magnificence in his Abſence*; and then ſet ſail for *Aſia*, to purſue his high Deſigns; that *Caſſius* ſhould go to *Achaia*, and SERVILIA by her Intereſt among her *old Friends*, was to procure the *Corn-commiſſion* to be raſed out of the ACT. †

A Promiſe of this nature from *a Lady*, to procure a Clauſe in a Decree of the *Roman* Senate to be cancelled, cannot but excite a Curioſity to know *who ſhe was*, and how ſhe came by ſo much Power. *SERVILIA, Cato's* half Siſter, and Mother to *Marcus Brutus*, was a Woman of a great Spirit and Underſtanding: By the Charms of her Perſon and Manners, when in her Bloom, and by her Prudence and Alliances afterwards, ſhe made all her Life a great Figure in *Rome*. She had been extremely beautiful, and had early captivated *Ceſar's* Heart, which, it was ſaid, ſhe uſed very tenderly: It is even uncertain, from *Plutarch's* way of ſpeaking ‡, on whoſe ſide the Paſſion firſt began; or which of them made the firſt Advances: *Julius Ceſar* was allowed, among other greater Qualities, to be the handſomeſt Man of his Age **: The Lovers were much together about the time

* Ego reppuli, —— *and before*, Nec tamen illum locum attingere, *Quemquam præterea oportuiſſe tangi.*

† CASSIUS frumentationi ſuæ aſpernabatur: cum SERVILIA ſublaturam ex Senatus conſ. ſe eſſe dicebat: noſter verò (BRUTUS) ἧττον ἐμέλησε σφῶν in Aſiam.

CICER. at Attic. Lib. XIV. Ep. 10.

‡ Ἔγνω γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε ὁ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, νεανίας ἔτι ὢν, τὴν ΣΕΡΒΙΛΙΑΝ ἠγαπηκέναι μάλιστα τῶν——ἦλθε μὲν γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Καίσαρα Σερβιλίας ἔρως αἰδέσιμος.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ. ΒΡΟΥΤΟΣ.

** Forma omnium civium excellentiſſimus.

C. VEL. PATERC. Lib. II. § 41.

time of the *Catiline-Conſpiracy*, in which the ambitious *Ceſar* was ſuſpected of being not a little dipt. *Servilia* was then married to *D. Silanus*, Conſul elect; the ſame whom *Ceſar*'s artfull Speech perſuaded or frighted to change, or rather to explain away his Opinion concerning puniſhing the Conſpirators, from *Death* to perpetual *Impriſonment*.

When the Senate was met upon that cruel Affair, in the height of the Debate, (which came at laſt to be managed wholly by Cato and Cesar) there was a ſmall *Note* ſlily ſlipt into the latter's hand, by a Servant from without: *Cato* perceived it, and imagining it might be a private Advice from ſome of the guilty Gang, called out to have it publicly read. *Ceſar* ſtood up, and ſaid, "That the Note concerned his private Buſineſs only, "upon which he hoped the *Senate* would not think proper to "break in." His ſhifting it made the inflexible *Cato* preſs with the greater Vehemence to have it produced. The Senate, he ſaid, at ſuch a Juncture, might demand the Sight of what Papers they pleaſed for their Satisfaction; and threw out ſome broad Hints at the Man who wanted to conceal any thing in that Circumſtance of the State. *Ceſar* thus put to it, ſaid, "He could "never conſent to make his *private* Concern a *Senate-buſineſs*; "but *Marcus Portius Cato* was ſo much his Friend, that if it "would ſatisfy him to read the Note by himſelf, he was very "willing to do him that Pleaſure." *Cato* took it in his hand, and caſting his Eye upon the Contents, inſtead of a Plot againſt the State, found it to be a very tender Billet from his own fair Siſter to the gentle *Ceſar*. He threw it back to him with Indignation, and ſome Names befitting the Profligacy of his Manners. The Adventure came to be known, and made ſome Noiſe in Town, but did not break off the Commerce; for the firſt time *Ceſar* was Conſul he made the Lady a Preſent of a Pearl, (the *Kind* of Jewels then in higheſt Vogue) valued at no leſs than *L.* 50,000. And long after the *Catiline-conſpiracy*, when he returned Conqueror to *Rome*, from the Civil Wars, and was

ſetting

ſetting the forfeited Eſtates to Sale, he ordered a beautiful Seat near *Naples*, for which ſhe had a Liking, to be made over to her for a *Shilling*, or ſome ſuch trifling Sum. I know of no Children ſhe had to *Silanus* *, but ſhe had a Son and two Daughters to her firſt Huſband *M. Junius Brutus*. The Daughters were both Beauties.

JUNIA the eldeſt took a Strain of the Mother: She was married to the Heir of one of the richeſt and nobleſt Families in *Rome*, *M. Emilius Lepidus*: but whether thro' Contempt of this her Spouſe, who was graceful neither in Body nor Mind, or thro' the Bent of her own Inclinations, ſhe admitted the Addreſſes of *T. Vedius Pollio*, a very notorious Man, in the way of Gallantry, and honoured with the Confidence of *Pompey the Great*.

THIS Gentleman, wholly immerſed in Pleaſure, was making the Tour of the *Aſiatic* Towns for his Recreation. The *Roman* Method of travelling was on Horſe-back: but *Vedius* rode in his four-wheeled Chaiſe, followed by a couple of covered Waggons, carrying his Kitchen, Tents, Beds, and all the Inſtruments of Luxury. A Litter or Hand-chair likewiſe attended his pleaſure, when he had a mind to exchange the jolting of the Chaiſe with a ſmoother Carriage: Otherwiſe the Chair was occupied by a *Baboon* he carried about to divert him. Theſe four Vehicles, with a great Train of Servants, and ſeveral wild Aſſes, either for their Milk or Colts, (for a *Suckling* of this Species was thought a Dainty) made up his Equipage. With this Retinue he arrived at *Laodicea*; where finding himſelf rather too much encumbered, he depoſited a Part of his Baggage in the Houſe of another common Friend of *Pompey*, and proceeded on his Journey: But the *Laodicean* Landlord happening to die ſoon after, and having, according to the *Roman* manner, left the great Man, their Patron, the better Part of his Fortune,

Pompey

* *It is not impoſſible but* Caſſius's *Wife may have been* Silanus's *Daughter, as* his *Family Name was likewiſe* JUNIUS: D. Junius Silanus.

Pompey diſpatched *C. Vennonius* his Truſtee, to take poſſeſſion in his Name of the newly devolved Inheritance. *Vennonius* was an exact Man: In doing his duty,—examining the Goods, and taking Inventaries, he came at laſt to *Vedius*'s Trunks; which he immediately broke up, (making no doubt of their belonging to the deceas'd,) and found them full of *Rarities* of a peculiar kind. By the Contents of *one*, we may gueſs at the reſt; —*five curious little Statues done* after Nature, *for five of the greateſt Ladies in* Rome. They were all married; and the beautiful JUNIA, *Brutus*'s Siſter, was not the leaſt remarkable of the number. *Tully* happened to be in *Laodicea* when the Thing was the Talk of that Town; and in writing the Story to his curious Friend *Atticus*, he ſubjoins, 'That he wonders with what Face '*Cn. Pompey* cou'd live in Intimacy with ſo very a Profligate as '*Vedius*, or how *M. Brutus* could hear ſuch Stories about his Si-'ſter with ſo little Concern'—! It has been taken for granted, 'twou'd ſeem, that the Statues have not been *Fancies* of the Artiſt, but *taken from the Life*. *Junia* had ſeveral Children,—and among them an ambitious Youth, (the ſame who was ſent with *Antony*'s Son as an Hoſtage into the Capitol) who being the loveliеſt Perſon of his Age, could not reſemble his Father, and of whom we ſhall have a melancholly Scene to relate hereafter.

SERVILIA's ſecond Daughter and third Child was *Junia Tertia*, or in the Diminutive, *Tertulla*, married to the high-ſpirited *C. Caſſius*. I am apt to believe, that the ſtrict Friendſhip between him and the young Lady's Brother, *M. Brutus*, might promote this Match: But certain it is, that beſides the Nobility and Opulence of the Family, the Mother's Intereſt with *Julius Ceſar*, made it then more conſiderable: and if we believe the ſcandalous Reports (for *ſuch*, I think, they were) that prevailed at that time, the young Lady was no leſs gracious with the Dictator herſelf. But I am perſuaded there was no Truth in the Story, and impute the *Appearances* that may have

given Riſe to it, to the high Favour in which the Mother ſtood with the Dictator. The Report however, true or falſe, and the Gift of ſo fair an Eſtate, gave *Cicero* a Handle for a witty and bitter Sarcaſm *, which admits not of a Tranſlation in our Language. In every other reſpect her Character was unblemiſhed, except by *modern Critics*, who found their Surmiſe upon the Fragment of a lewd Letter written by *Antony* to the young *Ceſar*. Among the Names of many other Miſtreſſes there recited, there is one *Tertulla*, who, they ſay, muſt have been *Servilia*'s third Child, and *Caſſius*'s young Widow; as if there had not been five hundred Ladies of the ſame Name then at *Rome*, where there was ſcarce a Family whoſe *third* Child was a Female, that had not a *Tertia* or *Tertulla* in it. It is very true that this lovely Woman was then in the Bloom of Life; but it is harſh to ſuppoſe ſhe could abandon herſelf to a wild, and at that time, infamous Youth, one of the Murderers of her loved *Caſſius*; and the more ſo, that no length of Time could make her Spirit bend, or bring her over to the *Ceſarean Pliancy*. For tho' ſhe lived to a great Age, (thro' all the long Reign of *Auguſtus*) and ſurvived her Huſband *ſixty four* Years, yet ſhe made a Will as if LIBERTY and the *old Republic* had been in full Vigour. 'It gave occaſion to much Diſcourſe, ſays *Tacitus*, that 'ſo long a Space could not efface the Impreſſions of Youth: 'for in enumerating the great Men, who had done any remark-'able public Service in her Lifetime, and making honourable 'mention of the greater part of the *Nobility*, ſhe ſaid not a 'Word of *Tiberius*, tho' then in poſſeſſion of the Empire.' *Cicero* regretes the Loſs of a young CASSIUS, thro' her miſcarrying, a little before her Huſband's Departure, whom ſhe never ſaw any more.

HERE

* Bello civili, ſuper alias donationes, ampliſſima praedia ex auctionibus haſtae, ei NUMMO addixit: cum quidem pleriſque vilitatem mirantibus, facetiſſimè CICERO, '*Quo melius, inquit, emptum ſciatis*' TERTIA DEDUCTA EST.' Exiſtimabatur enim SERVILIA etiam ſuam filiam *Tertiam* Caeſari conciliare.

SUETON. in Julio. § 50.

HERE it may not be improper to look backwards, and to obſerve that theſe were the *two Ladies* courted by POMPEY, when he returned the greateſt Man in *Rome*, after his eaſtern Expedition. The eldeſt he demanded in Marriage for himſelf, and the younger for his Son. Upon his Approach to the City, tho' covered with Glory, and the Idol of the People, he found an unexpected Oppoſition. Thro' a Paſſion for Power he had wormed *Lucullus*, a very great General, out of his Command of the *Mithridatic* War, and reckoned upon him as an undoubted Adverſary; but was ſurpriſed to find the upright *M. Cato* alſo of opinion, that he (*Pompey*) was grown too great in a free State, and bent upon humbling him. From this Similitude of Sentiments, *Lucullus* and *Cato* contracted a cloſe Friendſhip; and to ſtrengthen it by an agreable Alliance, *Lucullus*, who had put away his firſt infamous Spouſe *Clodia*, (the Tribune's Siſter and *Catullus*'s Miſtreſs) * married the younger *Servilia*, *Cato*'s half Siſter, whoſe Adventures we will have occaſion to touch upon hereafter. To over-balance therefore this Tye to his Rival, and detach *Cato* from the Intereſts of *Lucullus*, POMPEY propoſed the double Match of the Nieces. He thought by *their* means to have taken off *Cato*, and prevailed with him to uſe his Influence in the Senate for the Ratification of his Acts and Eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt, and making good his Grants both to his own Army, and to the States and Princes of *Aſia* and *Pontus*. But the Propoſal of the double Marriage was no ſooner delivered by *Munatius*, *Cato*'s intimate Friend, than without a moment's Deliberation! — *Go back*, ſaid he, Munatius, *go back and tell* Cn. Pompey, *that* CATO *is not to be entrapped by the* Female-Part *of his Family*.

UPON ſo abrupt a Refuſal, and *Cato*'s firm Adherence to *Lucullus*, POMPEY rather than be baffled in public, and appear *little* abroad, (where he had lately made the Figure of a *Sovereign*) moſt unhappily joined Intereſts with Men very unlike himſelf,

* *Celebrated* and *ſatirized* by that Poet under the Name of *Leſbia*.

himſelf, *Ceſar* and *Craſſus*; married the former's Daughter, and entered into the Combination that proved in end fatal to all the three, and at laſt to the public Liberty: A ſurpriſing Inſtance, upon how ſlender an Hinge the Fate of an Empire may turn! For had the too inflexible *Cato*.* accepted the proffered Alliance, it would have enabled him to have kept *Pompey* (who was a moral moderate Man) from that pernicious Confederacy, without which *Julius Ceſar* had never grown too big for the Common-wealth, nor driven *Cato* to the fatal Neceſſity of dying *free*, or living *a Slave*.

REFLEXIONS of this kind are apt to appear but *light* to Men of experience, who know the Incertainty of human Affairs, and how ſmall an Event may overturn the moſt plauſible Scheme. But their Conſequence is *weighty*; ſince that *Incertainty* increaſes in proportion to the VICES of a People. In the happy period of the *Roman* State, when Public-ſpirit and Integrity ſwayed the *Senate*,—when Bravery and Independency animated the *People*, and a thirſt of Fame fired every *Roman* Breaſt; no Intermarriages, nor Bonds of Affinity could have affected the Public, or branled the *Virtue-poiſed Government*. It is *general Corruption* that enfeebles a Nation; makes it depend upon ſmall Accidents, brings the *Conditions* of its Preſervation into a narrow Compaſs, and *creates* what we call the *Caprice* of *Fortune*, and the *Mazes* of modern Politics.

MEAN while Things in *Rome* were drawing towards a Criſis. The various Paſſions and oppoſite Intereſts of the Governors, put the public Affairs in a convulſive diſtracted State, which could not be laſting †. ANTONY's Deſign to domineer, and again oppreſs the

* Haec, culpâ *eorum*, qui a Senatu et ordinem conjunctiſſimum (EQUITUM) et hominem clariſſimum (POMPEIUM) abalienarunt.
M. T. CICER. Lib. I. Ep. 8. ad LENTULUM.

† Varius et multiplex motus CIVITATIS fuit. FLORUS.
Ἐν τῇ ΠΟΛΕΙ πάνλα ἦν τε ἀκρασία πολλὴ ἦν καὶ συνεκέχυτο· εἰρήνουν ἔτι, καὶ ἐπολέμουν ἤδη. ΔΙΩΝ.

the *Roman* Liberty, was become very evident, not only by the Strain of his Conduct, but by the Imprudence, ſhall I ſay, or Impudence of his Converſation. He ſpared no Pains, and much leſs Money, to gain Men fit for his Purpoſes: The old Officers, who had ſerved under *Julius*, but eſpecially the Tribunes and Centurions, *Saxa*, *Capho*, *Muſtela*, and *Laco* (the great Drinker) were the People he purchaſed at their *own* Price. To a Man of Conſequence, he wrote this remarkable Billet. '*Think* '*what it is that you wiſh to* have;—*whatever it be, it is aſſuredly* 'yours *:' A Promiſe, which plainly ſhewed that he meaned to trample upon Law and Juſtice, and every thing ſacred among Men. One of the Tribunes, *T. Canutius*, animated with the *Roman* Spirit, called upon him to appear and give an account of his Conduct in the Aſſembly of the People; which at the ſame time, the Tribune took the liberty to paint in its own Colours. I ſuppoſe ſome one of his Collegues has been hired to interpoſe, and prevent the Conſul's being called to a public Account: But on this occaſion he openly ſaid, '*that* Canutius *wanted a place* '*in the favour of thoſe Men, who could have no place in the Com-*'*mon-wealth, if he lived.*' At the ſame time he erected a Statue in the *Roſtra*, to his late Patron *Julius Ceſar*, with an Inſcription;

TO THE WELL-DESERVING FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY;

—in whoſe Steps he was indeed treading to the utmoſt of his Power. But as wild Ambition involves Men in great Contradictions, while he was profeſſing ſuch Veneration for the *dead Ceſar*, he was exerciſing mortal Enmity with his adopted Son. Their ſolemn Reconciliation in the *Capitol*, (as it were under the Eye of almighty JOVE) was mere Farce: Each found the other the chief Bar in his way to his wholly gaining the *Army*, upon which they knew all Power depended, and therefore purſued one another's Ruin with equal Rancour and Violence.

THE

* QUID CONCUPISCAS TU VIDERIS: QUOD CONCUPIVERIS CERTE HABERIS.

THE young *Ceſar* had no *Right* either to raiſe an Army, or intermeddle with any public Affairs: He was not yet of Age to be elected into any *Magiſtracy*, being ſcarce nineteen; and his levying Men by his own Authority, would, in better times, have been purſued as a capital Crime againſt the Peace and Liberty of the Common-wealth. He was therefore adviſed to expreſs no Reſentment againſt *Brutus* and his Friends, nor any Purpoſe to avenge his Father's Death; but on the contrary to apply himſelf particularly to the *Heads* of the Republican-party, in order to obtain, thro' their Intereſt, a *legal Command*, authorized by the *Senate* and *People*. M. CICERO was then the leading Man in the *Roman Senate*. In the Height of *Antony*'s Power, while he was beſetting the Senate-houſe with armed Barbarians, and filling *Italy* with his Legions, *Tully* firſt retired into the Country, and then reſolved on a Journey to *Greece*; both to avoid Danger, and to ſpend the Time, till that furious Man's Conſulſhip ſhould expire, when *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, his apparent Friends, were to come in his place.

THIS Reſolution will appear leſs timorous, if we recollect what Returns were made to BRUTUS and CASSIUS, the Deliverers of their Country for the higheſt Service; and *how* THEY were paſſing their time. It was in Retirement, and in the irkſome State of Doubt and Irreſolution. They could not bring themſelves to believe, that the ROMANS would tamely ſubmit to ſuch a Maſter as *M. Antony*; and therefore ſtill expected that ſome favourable Conjuncture would offer to re-ſettle Matters, and procure them an honourable Return *. But they found by experience, that it is not *mere Reputation*, nor the higheſt Fame of Bravery, Integrity and Honour, that can of itſelf keep Dependencies; or hinder the Run of Affairs from deviating into another Channel: If a Man is not actually *in place*, and has it not immediately

* CN. LUCEIUS qui multum utitur BRUTO, narravit illum valde morari, non tergiverſantem, ſed expectantem *ſi qui forte* CASUS——.
M. T. CICER. Lib. XVI. Ep. 5.

ly in his power to do Good or Ill, moſt People will loſe ſight of him, and turn their Eyes upon thoſe from whom they look for ſubſtantial Services. In effect theſe Heroes paſſed their Time pretty ſolitary in the Country; while both *Antony*'s Levee was crouded at *Rome*, and thoſe very Men were courted and feared, who had been *Ceſar*'s chief Inſtruments, in accompliſhing that for which he loſt his Life.

THIS ſtrange Turn, which things took at that time, ſeems to eſtabliſh the Opinion, '*That the Deſign againſt* Ceſar *was not* '*formed upon Views of* Intereſt *or* Ambition; *but that he was killed* '*by Men of high Spirit, brave and bold, but unacquainted with Man-*'*kind's worſt Sides*;—*by Men bred in Camps, generous and open, and* '*the greater part of them either ignorant of thoſe Methods we call* Po-'litics, *or guided by a* nobler Principle, *and to more excellent* Ends.' In reality,—the leaving *Antony* and *Dolabella* in quiet poſſeſſion of the ſupreme Power, the conniving at *Lepidus*'s ſeizing upon the High-prieſthood, and the confirming *Ceſar*'s Deeds and Grants, were capital Errors in Conduct. It was in effect to *reſign* their part in the *Adminiſtration*, and leave themſelves at the mercy of *Ceſar*'s Creatures, by leaving in their hands both the ſpecious and real Parts of the Government. This is ſo true, and the Conſequences it had were ſo fatal, that one can ſcarce help being of *Cicero*'s Mind, that in the glorious Undertaking of delivering their Country, they had contrived like *Boys* what they acted like *Men*.

IT was long before BRUTUS could take the Reſolution of having recourſe to Extremities; and tho', in conſequence of the Conſultation at *Antium*, he was gathering a little Fleet in the mouth of the *Alente*, yet his Eyes and Thoughts were ſtill towards *Rome*. He would fain have ſeen a *Senſe of Liberty* revive, and judged if there was any live Spark of the *Roman* Spirit remaining, it would ſhew itſelf at the *Apollinaria*; ſolemn *Games* celebrated in the beginning of *July* to the honour of *Apollo*: The People uſed to be much delighted with theſe

public

public Spectacles, and as they were given by the *Pretors*, he knew not what Effect it might have, when they ſaw a grand Entertainment given by the Deliverers of *Rome*, at which they themſelves durſt not be preſent. He was at pains to have them made as magnificent as poſſible, both by the Diverſity of the Shews to be exhibited, and by the Reputation of the Players, who were to act the various kinds of the *Drama*. He heard that *Canutius*, not the Tribune, but a *Greek Comedian*, in great Vogue at that time, was at *Naples*; and wrote to his Friends, by all means to perſuade him to go to *Rome*. Some of the wild Beaſts exhibited in the Amphitheater uſed to be ſpared, and reſerved to other Occaſions; but he gave Orders to ſpare none of them, but kill them all for the Diverſion of the People. He wrote to *M. Cicero*, intreating him to honour his Games with his Preſence; and a great part of the Management and Direction of the Exhibition fell upon their common Friend *Pomponius Atticus* *. The Games were accordingly grand and entertaining. There was a crowded Audience at the *Latin* Plays, and old † *Accius* received high Applauſe threeſcore years after he was in his Grave; it was his TEREUS that was acted, a Tragedy that ſeems to have affected the *Roman* Ear as much as HAMLET has the *Engliſh*; and was not the leſs gracious at this time for the ſake of the *Giver*. The Clap was univerſal; from the Nobility, the Gentry, and the common People; and many an Acclamation to the noble *Brutus* ‡: but as it had happened formerly after *Ceſar*'s Death, they contented themſelves with *empty good Wiſhes*, without *doing* any thing for

* APPIAN ſays, that *Caius* (it ſhould be *Lucius*) *Antony*, the Conſul's Brother was to give theſe Games in *Brutus*'s Name, ὁ τ'ἀγῶνα τῦ Βρούτου τῆς στρατηγίας ὑπατευόντων ἀπόντος, and managed the other Parts of *Brutus*'s Pretorſhip in his Abſence. *Appian* is inaccurate, and partial to the *Ceſareans*.

† Hor. ad Piſon. Lin. 56.

‡ A ſummis, infimis, mediis; denique ab univerſis. CICERO Philip. I.

for their own or their Deliverer's Security.——In the Letter which he wrote to *Cicero*, he had, beſides the Games, touched a little, tho' reſervedly, upon the State of Affairs: *Tully*'s Account of it is, "That *ſome Flaſhes of Manhood would at* "*times break from him; which what they meaned, he ſent the Letter* "*to his Friend* Atticus, *that he might judge for himſelf.*" A ſlight Hint,——which yet I thought as proper to ſhew the *Situation of* BRUTUS's *Mind*, and how untainted he was with Oſtentation, or a Thirſt of Power, as ſome weightier Matters. *Atticus* and *Cicero* were his intimate Friends; Men with whom he needed uſe no Caution in ſpeaking of the Buſineſs of Liberty, or of oppoſing ſuch a Profligate as they all knew *M. Antony* to be. However, to make their Senſe of things public, and give a reaſon for their Retirement, *Caſſius* and he emitted a conjunct Edict; where, after repreſenting their danger, from the *Veterans* levied by the Conſul, they declared, "*That they* "*pretended to no other Recompenſe for delivering their Country, but* "the conſcious Glory *of the Service they had done, and* Safety *for* "*themſelves; that as it was the Conſul's Duty to keep the Peace, they* "*demanded* the ſecure Exerciſe *of their Office of* Town Pretors. "*But nevertheleſs, if even this was not to be granted, they declared* "*they would quit their Right, and give up their Dignity, rather* "*than give the ſmalleſt Handle for a civil War: and,* in fine, "*That they would willingly go into perpetual Exile, if their doing* "*ſo could preſerve the public Tranquillity.*"—Such an Edict could not be drawn, nor the Danger ſuch Men were in deſcribed, nor the reaſons of it deduced, without expoſing *Antony* and his Management to Reproach and Envy. He firſt publiſhed a virulent Edict in anſwer to theirs, and then wrote them a threatening Letter, to which they made the following Return.

M. BRUTUS and C. CASSIUS *Pretors,*
to M. ANTONY *Conſul.*

WE have received a Letter from you, which is entirely of a piece with your late Edict, full of Inſolence and Threats, moſt unworthy to have been written to us by you. We, Antony, *have done you no Wrong; nor could we imagine you would think it ſtrange, that Men of our Character,* and Pretors, *ſhould make a public Requiſition of Protection from the* Conſul: *If it offends you that we dared to do ſuch a thing, give us leave to complain in our turn, that* Brutus *and* Caſſius *ſhould be of ſo litte Account with you as to begrudge them that poor Privilege. You refuſe that ever you charged us with enliſting Men, raiſing Money, tampering with the Legions, or ſending Meſſages beyond Sea; and we can take it upon your Word, that it was with a good Intent you did not mention theſe Things: But at the ſame time neither do we acknowledge any of them to be true, and are extremely ſurpriſed, when you were able to ſuppreſs ſuch a Charge, that you had ſo little Command of your own Temper, as to upbraid us with* Ceſar's *Death.*

BUT what we wiſh you to reflect upon is this, how it can be endured, that PRETORS *may not declare by Edict,* That for the ſake of Peace, and the public Liberty, they voluntarily recede from their undoubted Rights, without the Conſul's threatning Violence, and military Execution?

YOU may however perſuade yourſelf, that Threats *are very ill employed upon* US, *whom of all Men it leaſt becomes to bow before Danger; nor ought* Antony *to demand to domineer over thoſe, by whoſe means he himſelf is not* a Slave. *Were there* other *Reaſons of ſufficient weight to make us engage in a civil War, it is not a* Letter *that would deter us: for Menaces have ſmall effect upon free Men. But you well know that we are immoveable in our Purpoſe of ſteadily purſuing the Welfare of* Rome, *and for that Reaſon, perhaps, affect to carry it high, that what is our fixed Choice may ſeem Weakneſs and Fear.*

WE,

WE, Antony! *are of that Diſpoſition as to wiſh that you may be great and honourable in a free State: We call you to no Feuds, nor denounce any Enmity againſt you; but be aſſured at the ſame time, that we rate our Liberty far higher than your Friendſhip. Do you conſider, and conſider thoroughly, both what you undertake, and what you can perform; and remember, not how long* Ceſar *lived, but how ſhort a Space he enjoyed his ill-gotten Power. We pray the Gods, that your Conduct may be for the Good of your Country, and for your own: But if that cannot be, that it may harm you as little as is conſiſtent with the Safety and Honour of the* ROMAN STATE.

THIS Letter being likewiſe made public, was a new Proof of the Integrity and Reſolution of the Pretors; who ſaw at laſt there was nothing to be expected from legal Methods, and were therefore forced to take the neceſſary Steps for ſecuring themſelves and the Commonwealth. They reſolved to pay no regard to the Acts extorted by *Antony* and his *Veterans*, ſtripping them of their Provinces; but to take poſſeſſion of *Macedon* and *Syria*, according to the firſt Deſtination. With theſe Intentions, tho' not publickly declared, each of them was preparing a ſmall Squadron of Ships for tranſporting themſelves, and a Retinue ſuitable to their Rank and Character. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if M. CICERO choſe likewiſe to retire: He was of a delicate Turn, quick Senſations, and ill-formed to bear the Shocks of Buſineſs. When he was Governor in chief, and almoſt abſolute in his Province, he appears to have been hurt by the *Impertinence*, *Inſolence*, and *Folly* of thoſe he governed *. A Temper hardened by Nature or Uſe is requiſite, to prevent our *feeling* the Aſperities of impudent Sollicitations, or the Rancour conceived upon even a juſt Refuſal. But now, when inſtead of *Roman* Patricians and People, the thin *Senate*, conſiſting of *Antony*'s Creatures, was ſurrounded by *Ithyrean* Ruffians, and the *Forum* was

 filled

* Angor intimis ſenſibus, ita tam multa vel iracundè, vel inſolenter, vel in omni genere ſtultitiae, inſulsè, arroganter, et dicuntur et tacentur quotidie.

Lib. X. Ep. 10. ad Atticum.

filled with *Julius*'s bloody Centurions, no wonder if CICERO did not ſtand the unequal Conteſt. While he thought himſelf ſafe in ITALY, he lived privately ſometimes at one of his Villas, and ſometimes at another, as they lay fartheſt from *Antony*'s Motions; and during this Retirement, he compoſed ſome of thoſe Pieces that remain the Wonder of Poſterity *. The reſt of his Time was ſpent in receiving Viſits from the few remaining *Senators* of his own Dignity and Sentiments †; and from the ingenious Men ‡ of the *Ceſarean* Party. With *theſe laſt* he was thronged; and as they were profeſſed Admirers of his Learning and Eloquence, and he noways averſe to diſplay his Talents, they even prevailed upon him to *declaim* in their Preſence. The greater Part of *Julius Ceſar*'s Favourites had choſen the Principles of *Epicurus* in Speculation, and followed their own Inclinations in their Practice. CICERO facetiouſly ſaid, '*That his* '*Scholars in* Eloquence, *were his Maſters in* Eating,—*and that he* '*was a bold Man, having ventured to entertain* A. Hirtius *without* '*a* Peacock!'

YET this *high living* (as it is prepoſterouſly called) did not hinder the Favourites from either laying their Schemes of Action for the enſuing Year, or from exerciſing their Genius in Matters of Literature. It was now, that at the preſſing Inſtances of *Cornelius Balbus*, his Friend A. HIRTIUS undertook to write a Supplement to *Julius Ceſar*'s MEMOIRS; and elegantly has he done it to thoſe of the *Gallic* and *Alexandrian* Wars; the *African* is more haſtily written, and the *Spaniſh*, which for its Importance and the exact Knowledge which HIRTIUS muſt have had of an Expedition where he bore Command, ſhould have been the moſt perfect, is rather a *Diary* than a Memoir; I ſuppoſe

* De divinatione. De natura Deorum. CATO MAJOR, ſive de ſenectute. LAELIUS, ſive de amicitia. De officiis ad MARCUM. FIL. and a Hiſtory of his *own Times*, which has unhappily periſhed.

† Serv. Sulpitius, L. Ceſar, Martius Philip, &c. ‡ See Pages 220, 221.

poſe partly by his Health's having broken about this time, and partly thro' the Hurry of Buſineſs, unavoidably coming upon him with his approaching Conſulſhip. Neither was *Cicero* ſo immerſed in Philoſophy as to loſe ſight of the Common-wealth. To his inſatiate Thirſt of News, while at a diſtance from *Rome*, and to the Intimacy he lived in with the great Men of all Parties, we owe the moſt valuable COLLECTION OF LETTERS now extant, chiefly written to his Friend *Pomponius Atticus*. To him he plainly told his Sentiments of Perſons and Things; and having many Opportunities to penetrate into the Inclinations of the old *Ceſareans*, he ſaw with Grief the deſperate Projects of lawleſs Men to aggrandize themſelves, tho' at the Price of their Country's Ruin: No doubt they would endeavour to conceal them; for who would own, that rather than miſs of an ambitious View, he would involve every thing in Blood and Confuſion? But it was hard to diſſemble before *Cicero*: he knew Men throughly; and had curiouſly obſerved the Turn and Temper of *Ceſar*'s Minions; he therefore wrote to *Atticus*, 'That PANSA talked 'admirably, but was attached to *Hirtius*,—would be a good 'Friend to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, *if he found it for his Intereſt*; and 'that it was mere triffling to expect a Re-eſtabliſhment of Li-'berty from Men ſo addicted to Wine and Riot *. That 'as for HIRTIUS, he deeply revered *Ceſar*'s Memory,—lived 'with *Cornelius Balbus*; was evidently afraid of Peace: and con-'cluded in two Greek Proverbs †, That his Mettal tho' ſhining 'was but of baſe Allay; and in fine, that he was naught at 'bottom.'

MEAN time the *young* Ceſar was not idle. *Julius* had ſettled the *Veterans* of his *Spaniſh* Army in two Colonies at *Calvi* and *Caiazzo*, in the Neighbourhood of *Capua*. Thither the Youth went with a great Sum raiſed by the Sale of his paternal Eſtate, and of that Part of *Julius Ceſar*'s that came to him by his latter

* Δῆρες πολὺς: in vino et ſomno iſtorum!

† ὁ Θησέως ἀνθρακες. οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς.

latter Will. He took up his Head-quarters at *Capua*, gave each *Veteran* at the Rate of *Sixteen Pounds* a Man, and to the Officers in proportion. There he formed a Legion, gave Commiſſions to the Centurions, and openly prepared for War without Authority from the Senate or People. Conſcious of this Defect in his Procedure, he paid the moſt aſſiduous Court to *Cicero*: he wrote to him twice a day,——begged they might have a private Conference either at *Capua*, or where-ever *Cicero* ſhould be pleaſed to appoint. The old Stateſman wrote back, 'That it was vain to imagine any Meeting of theirs at '*Capua* or elſewhere, could be kept a Secret. But that if the 'young Man mean'd well to the Common-wealth, and to its 'Deliverers *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, he might be very ſure of *his* 'Friendſhip.' The young *Ceſar*, who was ſtill known by the Name of *Octavius*, made ample Profeſſions,—That he and his Troops ſhould be abſolutely at the SENATE's diſpoſal; and his Tutors *Oppius* and *Balbus* undertook for his good Affection to the Friends of Liberty. Yet *Tully* ſtill diſtruſted him,—ſaid *it was impoſſible he ſhould be a good Countryman, while beſet by ſo many bad ones, who threatened the better Party with Death and Deſtruction*: and after a little Acquaintance, tho' he allowed the Youth to have abundance of *Spirit* and *Capacity*, and the Appearance of ſuch *Diſpoſitions* towards the Deliverers of *Rome* as might be wiſhed,—he ſtill added, That it was a Point requiring great Conſideration what Truſt was to be put in his Age, what in his *Name*, in his *Succeſſion*; and above all in his Principles and *Education*. This was *Cicero*'s way of thinking before his Departure for *Greece*.

IN Journeys along the Coaſt the Ancients frequently changed their way of travelling, and when they came to a Bay, they uſually took ſhipping, and croſſed from Point to Point, as the *Italians* do in their *Feluccas* at this day. If a Promontory jutted out, they took the Land-road, and walked or took Horſe; and when obliged to ſtand out to Sea, they took the Opportunities of all the

the Iſlands in their way, to land and take Refreſhments. In this manner *Cicero*, having avoided the ordinary Road by *Brindiſi* to *Greece*, becauſe of a Report of the coming of the *Macedonian* Legions, travelled along the Coaſt of *Italy*, lodging with Friends that knew his Worth; and then paſſed over to *Syracuſe* in *Sicily*, where he was almoſt adored for his Integrity while *Queſtor*, and for procuring them Redreſs to the amount of four hundred thouſand Pounds, for the Extortions of the infamous VERRES. Yet to avoid Suſpicion, he ſtaid but one Night at *Syracuſe*, and ſetting ſail, was by a weſterly Wind put into a ſmall Port called *Punto della Saetta* *, in *Abruzzo*. He put off again next Day, intending for *Corfu* on the Coaſt of *Epirus*, but a ſtiff Gale ſprang up at South, and drove him back to the ſame Place, where he landed about Midnight.—Happily *P. Valerius*, his Companion and intimate Friend, had a *Villa* in that Neighbourhood, where he repoſed after his Fatigues at Sea. But while he waited a Change of Wind, there came ſome of the chief Citizens of *Rheggio* to viſit him, and among them ſome lately come from *Rome*, from whom he received the Copy of a Speech made by the Conſul to the People.

M. ANTONY did not yet find himſelf ready for an open Rupture with the Republic. He knew the deep Root *Brutus* and *Caſſius* had with all good Men; and found not ſo contemptible a Rival as he had imagined in the *young Ceſar*. It was his Buſineſs again to diſſemble. He called an Aſſembly of the People, ſpoke favourably of the Commonwealth, moderately of *Octavius*, and made honourable Mention of *Brutus* and his Friends. This gave *Cicero* the firſt Thoughts of ſuperſeding his Journey to *Greece*; in which he was confirmed by the Edict emitted by the PRETORS †, which came now firſt to his Hands, and was quite determined by what the Citizens of *Rheggio* added of their own, (as People uſually exaggerate either good or bad News) 'That there was to be a 'very full Senate the firſt of *Auguſt*; — that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* 'had

* Leucopetra, or the *White-ſtone*.

† BRUTUS and CASSIUS.

'had written to all the Senators of *Conſular* and *Pretorian* Dig-
'nity to be preſent;—that there were great hopes Matters
'would be made up, and that *Antony*, having rejected the Coun-
'ſel of bad Men, would recede from his illegal Title to the
'Province of *Gaul*, put himſelf under the Direction of the SE-
'NATE, and *Brutus* and *Caſſius* would return with Honour to
'*Rome*.'

AFTER this, no Carriage ſeemed quick enough to *Cicero*, to bring him back to his Scene of Action, the *Senate*. He came to VELIA, now *Caſtel à mare*, within three Miles of the *Alente*, where *Brutus* was lying with his Fleet, who no ſooner heard of his old Friend's Return, than he made haſte to walk over to him on foot: Their Meeting was all Joy, and mutual Congratulation; on *Brutus*'s part, that CICERO had evited the Reproach of abandoning his Country, of deſpairing of the public Liberty, and of going, at his Age, to *Greece*, to ſee the *Olympic* Games; an Errand as idle as we would think it to ſee the *Jubilé* at modern *Rome*. On *Cicero*'s part, to find BRUTUS in ſuch high Spirits, hoping ſo well of the Cauſe of Liberty, and much better provided than he imagined to ſupport it. Their ſole Regret was, that *Cicero* was not preſent in the Senate the 1ſt of *Auguſt*; when *L. Piſo* had made a Speech worthy of his Rank and Family; but was ſeconded by no one Senator, nor did he himſelf appear in the Senate next day *. So low was the Spirit of Patriotiſm fallen in that once glorious Aſſembly, whoſe brighteſt Lights had been extinguiſhed by *Julius Ceſar!* †

HIS adopted Son had now raiſed and modelled a Body of three thouſand *Veterans*, and it was about this Time of *Cicero*'s Return that he principally preſſed to be taken under his Direction and Patronage. The Legions from *Macedon* ſhipped off by *C. Antony* for his Brother, were landed at *Brindiſi*; the welcome News of which

* Num quis PISONI aſſenſus eſt? num redit ipſe poſtridie? ad ATTIC.

† SENATUS incolumis, nondum *tot luminaribus* extinctis. Philip. II.

which no ſooner reached the Conſul, than he haſted thither by the way of *Sueſſa*, to ſecure them by Largeſſes to his obedience. It was the ſame Troops, whoſe Officers had waited upon *Octavius* while yet at *Apollonia*, with Proffers of Service after the Dictator's Death; and as the news of the Enmity between him and *Antony* had got before, they gave the latter but a cold reception. He grew angry; upbraided them with Stupidity, and Ingratitude to *him*, who inſtead of the Hardſhips of *Hungary* and *Parthia*, had called them home to the Wealth and Pleaſures of *Italy*. This produced nothing but Obſtinacy and Silence. He falls in a Rage, decimates them, and commands ſome Heads to be ſtruck off, as a Terror to others. Even this helps not.—His Fury increaſes,—he calls for the chief Centurions; ſounds them; and finding them ſullen, orders them to attend that evening at his Tent; from whence many of them never returned more. It was even ſaid, that the hard-hearted *Fulvia* his Wife, who had accompanied him in this haſty Excurſion, ſtood ſo near the Executioner, looking greedily on, that her Face was beſmeared with the Blood of theſe unhappy Men, *three hundred of whom* fell a Sacrifice to *Antony*'s Fury.

In this Situation of Affairs, the young *Ceſar* conſulted Cicero, what he ſhould do? whether he ſhould march ſtraight to *Rome*, with three thouſand *veteran* Soldiers; or if he ſhould garriſon *Capua*, and ſhut the Gates upon *Antony* as he paſſed; or finally, if he ſhould himſelf haſten to *Brindiſi* to the three *Macedonian* Legions marching along the upper Coaſt *, who he hoped were wholly his own? Theſe, he ſaid, had refuſed a Donative from *Antony*,—had reproached him with Ingratitude to *Ceſar*, and abandoned him in the midſt of his Allocution, or military Harangue to the Soldiery. *Cicero* adviſed him to go to Rome, where he would both have the *Commonalty* on his Side,

* Of the Adriatic, called *Mare Superum*.
An Mare quod *ſupra* memorem, quodque alluit *infra*. Virg. Georgic. II.

and, *if he proved true to his Profeſſions*, even the Friends to Liberty and the Common-wealth. But *Cicero*'s Mind is no where ſo fully painted as in this ſhort Letter to ATTICUS.

I Have now two Couriers a-day from OCTAVIUS. *What he intreats is, that I ſhould go directly with him to* Rome, *as it is his Reſolution to act under the Authority of the* Senate, *and by* my *Direction. I have let him know there could be no Senate held before the firſt of* January; *which I believe is true. In ſhort, he is* earneſt *and* preſſing, *and I am* irreſolute: *I have no Confidence in his* Years *—I do not fully know his Intentions, and will do nothing without your Friend* PANSA. *I am afraid leſt* Antony *grow powerful,—and do not chuſe to go far from the* Sea-Coaſt: *at the ſame time I am uneaſy leſt ſome grand Stroke ſhould be ſtruck in my Abſence.* M. VARRO *does not like the Youth's Deſign: I do: He has a Body of hardy Troops,—may be joined by* Brutus; *and carries on his Affairs openly. He muſters at* Capua; *pays his Men regularly; War I ſee is at hand. Your Opinion of theſe Matters.----*

ATTICUS's Opinion was, 'That if *Octavius* became powerful 'in the State, the ACTS of the Tyrant (*Julius Ceſar*) would be 'much more firmly ratified than by the Senate's Decree made 'in the Temple of the EARTH *; which muſt prove prejudicial 'to BRUTUS and his Friends in the Iſſue.' To this *Cicero* anſwers, *Many a maſterly Obſervation have you made in the Way of Politics; but never one more ſo than in your laſt Letter.* '*For tho'*, '*as you ſay, that Youth could finely repel* Antony *at preſent, yet we* 'ought to conſider Conſequences, and what his Power will produce 'hereafter.' *But oh! ſuch a Speech to the People, (a Copy of which was ſent me) what a Piece it is! he there ſwears,* ſo may the Gods enable him to attain the ſame Honours with his Parent CESAR!——*and at the ſame time ſtretches forth his hand towards the*

* See Page 211.

the Statue *, - - - *may I periſh rather than owe my Safety to ſuch a Creature!* †

BUT the Turn which Affairs took ſoon after, did not permit this good Man to act up to his Reſolutions. *Antony*, enraged at the ill Reception he had met with from the *Macedonian* Legions, finally threw aſide the Maſque. It ſtung him deep to find the young *Ceſar* more gracious with the Soldiery than himſelf, and he wrecked his fury upon ſome Agents employed by *Octavius*, whom he found debauching his Troops, and put them inſtantly to death at *Sueſſa*. Then, as if a foreign Enemy had been in the Heart of *Italy*, and threatening the City with Fire and Sword, he picked out a *Pretorian* Band of a thouſand Men, put *Ceſar*'s famous ALAUDA, or *Lark-Legion*, under Arms, and marched with fierce Intent towards *Rome*.

IT was *Treaſon* by the *Roman* Laws, for any Man to enter the City with an armed Force, except on occaſion of a Triumph, by permiſſion from the SENATE, or by their expreſs Order in caſes of higher Exigency. The young *Ceſar* therefore ordered his Troops to rendevouz without the Town, and ſent a Detachment forward to *Arezzo* in *Tuſcany*; he cantoned another Body, which he had raiſed in a later progreſs northward, about *Ravenna*, to be in the way of the Legions from *Macedon*, of whom he had good hopes, and who were holding their rout thro' *the March of Ancona*, towards *Rimini* on the *Gallic* Border. But *Antony*, contemning the Laws, entered the City in *armed State*. The *Legion* and his Cavalry he left in the Suburbs; but marched in himſelf, ſurrounded by his *Pretorian Guards*, under *Saxa* and *Capho* their Captains. They did *Duty* about his Houſe all Night, relieved their *Centries*, and gave out the Word, while *Saxa* and *Capho* oſtentatiouſly ſhewed their Swords, as if encamped in the Face of an Enemy. The City was in great Conſterna-

* See Page 269.

† Μήδε σωθείλω ὑπὸ γε TOIOYTOY!

tion: his natural Violence, and rapacious Guards made many lay their account with Rapine and Murders: ſeveral Citizens, with their Wives and Children, were beginning to abandon their Habitations, and fly to *Brutus*; while others were putting themſelves under the protection of *Octavius:* for ANTONY, ſitting at the Temple of the Twin-Gods, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, had inſultingly threatned, *That none but the* Victors *muſt expect to ſurvive the impending War.*

YET M. CICERO, at his Return to *Rome*, made a noble Stand for Liberty. Amidſt a Crowd of corrupt or fearful Senators, he bravely aſſerted the Rights of the Republic, and expoſed the Conduct of the Conſuls, their Invaders. He ſhone in the Senate, by a Series of inimitable Speeches, ſometimes ſpoken to the *Fathers*, ſometimes in the *Roſtra* to the whole People, which, in imitation of the Diſcourſes made by *Demoſthenes* againſt *Philip*, (the Invader of the *Grecian* Liberties) *Cicero*, maintaining the ſame glorious Cauſe, pleaſantly called his *PHILIPPICS*. By the firſt of theſe having highly incenſed *Antony*, who now approached with the Legions, he was under a *Neceſſity* of either abandoning his Cauſe and Country, or of making up matters with the young *Ceſar:* for who elſe could have ſheltered him from armed Fury? It was this *Neceſſity* that cleared his Doubts, and cured his Irreſolution; while the Youth's good Behaviour, in regard to the Republic and its Friends, gave the beſt Hopes of him for the future. A ſtrong Body of his *Veterans* was poſted in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and a much greater was ready to march upon the ſhorteſt warning. Theſe drew *Reſpect* from *Antony*. Wild as he was, he thought it not proper to draw the Sword firſt upon *Ceſar*'s Son, whoſe very Name, he ſaw, won the Hearts of the Soldiery: he found it neceſſary to check his Nature, and take *other* meaſures to ruin his Rival. Having therefore called his chief Officers together, he produced ſome of his People, who averred in their Preſence, that they had been bribed by the young Man to murder the Conſul in his own Houſe;

and

and what they ſaid was true *. Then he emitted an Edict or Proclamation, laying the worſt of Crimes to his Charge, 'That 'he had merited his Adoption by the moſt *infamous Complacency* 'to his Grand-Uncle;—that he was gathering a Band of Fu-'gitives and Robbers like another *Spartacus*; and (deſpiſing both 'his Perſon and Family) reproached him with his Great Grand-'father's having been a *Rope Maker*, the Son of a Slave; and 'his Grandfather a *Banker*: that his Mother's Grandfather was 'originally a *Moor* from *Africa*, who had firſt ſet up a *Perfu-'mer*'s Shop, and then turned Baker in *Arezzo*.'

He next called a *Senate* againſt the twenty ſecond of *November*, and prevailed with a Man of his own Stamp, a Creature of the *late* CESAR's, and Conſul of his making, (I ſuppoſe *Fufius Calenus*) to prepare a Decree 'declaring *the young* Ceſar *an Enemy to* 'his *Country*.' The laſt Sentence of this Edict was, 'That if any 'Senator did not attend that Meeting, all the World might look 'upon that Man as the Author of the moſt deſperate Counſels, 'and the Plotter of his (*Antony*'s) Deſtruction.' This was aimed at *Cicero*: But after this high Menace, whether thro' Debauch or Buſineſs I know not, the Conſul himſelf kept not the Meeting, nor came that Day to the Senate: he prorogued it to the twenty ſixth, and appointed them then to aſſemble in the *Capitol*. At the ſame time, to make ſure Work, he threatned three of the braveſt Tribunes, whoſe *Negative* he dreaded, with immediate Death, if they dared to look near the Aſſembly; theſe were *Q. Caſſius*, the PRETOR's Brother *T. Canutius*, and *D. Carſulenus*, Friends, we may be ſure, to *Liberty* and *Rome*.

BUT that very morning, unwelcome News was brought him, that the MARTIAN Legion, one of the *four* from *Macedon* whoſe Centurions he had murdered, inſtead of keeping the Rout he had given to *Rimini*, had turned ſhort to the left, marched towards

* Prudentes autem et boni viri, et credunt factum, et probant.
M. CICER. ad CORNIFICIUM.

towards *Rome*, and taken Poſſeſſion of the fortified Town of *Alba*. This firſt ſtaggered his Reſolution about the young *Ceſar*; however, being haughty and headſtrong, he would not deſiſt: but while he was ſtepping out of his Houſe to proceed to the *Capitol*, *another* Courier arrived, with accounts that the FOURTH Legion had followed the *Martian*'s example, deſerted the aſſigned Rout, and under the Conduct of *L. Egnatuleius* their Tribune had joined the Troops levied by *Octavius*. This confounded him: his Courage fell: he dreaded the Deſertion of the whole Army:—appeared in the *Senate* in viſible Diſorder: ſpoke a few confuſed Sentences of a ſolemn Thankſgiving, (what the *Romans* called a *Supplication)* to be appointed to the Gods for the Succeſs of *M. Lepidus* againſt ſome *Spaniſh* Nations whoſe Faces he had never ſeen, nor ſet his foot in their Country. This was quickly huddled up,—the Conſul was in a hurry: he ran haſtily home; and returning that very Evening, ſlurred ſhamefully over one of the moſt ſacred and important Parts of his Truſt. The Terror of his Arms had reduced that Meeting of the Senate to a handful of his Creatures. With *theſe* he ſet about the ſolemn Diſtribution of the PROVINCES by Lot, to the ſeveral *Proconſuls*, *Pretors* and *Queſtors*, who were to govern them for the enſuing Year. The Manner was to put their Names into one Urn, and the Names of the Provinces into another; and the two Names that were drawn together fixed the Government. At the drawing of this Lottery, *Fortune* was far from blind; for the Lot for every Province fell preciſely upon the Man who moſt wiſhed it. Some Senators he intermixed, ſuch as *L. Lentulus*, *P. Naſo*, *L. Philip*, and *L. Cinna*, who regarding their Characters, rejected the mock-Diſtribution: But the three Brothers, *M. C.* and *L. Antonys*, their Companion *C. Calviſius*, and ſuch others, greedily ſnatched at the providential Allotment. When this *religious* Performance (for *ſuch* it ought to have been) was over, he threw aſide the Habit of a civil Magiſtrate, put on the *Sagum*, or Soldier's Dreſs, and before Day-break poſted

poſted out of Town to his Army. There was no declared War; no *Pretor* or *Governor* had ſent Letters to the *Conſuls*, informing them of any Enemy from abroad or Inſurrection at home. Yet the CONSUL ſet out in *military* Equipage; —and in ſo far he but kept his Word: For in an Aſſembly of the People he was impudent enough to ſay, 'That when his Conſulſhip was expired, he 'would ſtill retain his Troops, come to Town armed, and go 'out and come in as often as he pleaſed;' which was a direct Denunciation of open *Tyranny*.

BUT he did not find it ſo eaſy as he imagined to perform it. He marched with great Speed towards *Lombardy*, to ſeize upon it as his Province, and drive out *Decimus Brutus*, who commanded in it with four Legions. Traces of Rapine and Devaſtation every where marked his March *. He was immediately followed by the enterpriſing Youth, who had checked his Fury in *Rome*, and who hated or dreaded him ſo much, that he was willing to join Armies with *Decimus*, the Man who had killed *Ceſar*, rather than not deſtroy *Antony*. He had indeed received high Provocation: his Claim upon him was for two thouſand five hundred Myriads, which, at the loweſt Reckoning, amount to *ſeven hundred and ſeventy five thouſand Pounds* †. When defrauded of this, a Thirſt of Popularity, and a Deſire to render *Antony* odious, prompted him firſt to ſell his own paternal Eſtate by *Octavius*, and then to preſs his Co-heirs, *Pedius* and *Pinarius*, to part with their Shares of *Ceſar*'s Inheritance, in order to enable him to pay the Debt of the Dictator's LEGACY to the PEOPLE: It was a high Strain of Ambition, to ſtrip himſelf and his Friends ‡ for ſo precarious a Purchaſe as the *People*'s Favour; which however was attended with the more

ſolid

* Totum iter ANTONII, quid habuit niſi depopulationes, vaſtationes, caedes, rapinas. PHILIPPIC. V.

† By another Calcul it amounts to upwards of L. 818,339 *Sterl.*

‡ Some Authors ſay, that, beſides his Co-heirs, he prevailed with his Mother *Atia* and her Huſband, *Philip*, to ſell their Eſtates on this occaſion; which his Mother's Advice, and *Philip*'s Oppoſition, make quite improbable.

ſolid Acceſſion of a *veteran Army*. For now the long impending War began openly to break out. *Antony*, in virtue of the Vote he had *obtruded* * upon the People, was to make himſelf Maſter of the *nearer Gaul*; which he knew was not to be done without coming to Blows with its Governor. His Army already conſiſted of four Legions, tho' not compleat: two he had levied himſelf, by his Money and Intereſt with the Soldiery: two he retained of the *Macedonian* Troops, likewiſe far from full: and other three he reckoned upon as his own, that were under the Command of VENTIDIUS, a Soldier of Fortune, who had been buſy raiſing his old Camp-Companions, in hopes of new Confuſions, and was now lying on the *March of Ancona*; theſe made up in all, beſides Auxiliaries and his Pretorian Guard, ſeven Legions, above thirty thouſand Men, had they been aſſembled.— But theſe *veteran* Bodies had been much thinned by death and deſertion; and one of the Legions from *Macedon*, led by his Brother *Lucius*, was not come up. This brought the Numbers of the two Armies nearer Equality; and had *D. Brutus* and *Ceſar* immediately joined, they would have far outnumbered him. But as *Decimus* and all the Friends of Liberty, had rather ſtood on the *defenſive* than prepared for farther Attempts, they had not made the ſame Efforts to levy Men as its Enemies; and the Conjunction could not be quick or cordial between the Deſtroyer of the Tyrant and his adopted Son. *Antony* therefore, being much ſuperior to *D. Brutus* in *Veterans*, ſent him a threatening Meſſage, to evacuate againſt a certain Day, the Province aſſigned to him by a *Vote* of the *Roman People*; if not, that he would treat him as an Enemy to the State. *Brutus* anſwered, that he held the Province by the Authority of the *Senate*; and at the ſame time, threw himſelf into MODENA, a ſtrong and plentiful Town, which he farther fortified, and made Proviſion of all ſorts as for a tedious Siege. *Antony* enraged, immediatly inveſted the City, threw

* M. ANTONIUS Conſul, quum impotenter dominaretur, legemque de *Provinciarum permutatione* PER VIM tuliſſet. T. LIVII Epitom. Lib. CXVII.

threw up Works around it, and by many fierce but fruitleſs Attacks endeavoured to break into it before Relief ſhould arrive either from *Ceſar* or the new Conſuls.

AT *Rome*, which wont to be the Source of Counſel, and Soul of the Empire, the *Tribunes* called a Senate on the eighteenth of *December*, to take meaſures for better enabling the Conſuls to hold their Aſſembly with ſecurity the firſt day of the new Year. But tho' this was not unneceſſary, a higher Concern engroſſed their Attention. WAR was broke out almoſt in their Neighbourhood, and Armies levied without their Authority or Direction. They muſt approve or condemn the Leaders. The Province of nearer *Gaul* was full of rich Cities and Colonies, as it is under the Name of *Lombardy* at this day. The Inhabitants *knew* ANTONY, dreaded his Government, and declaring unanimouſly for *D. Brutus*, ſent him upwards of eight thouſand Auxiliaries. He, on his part, gave them high Encouragement; and at the ſame time publiſhed an Edict or *Manifeſto*, *That he took Arms in order to keep the Province of* Gaul *in the power of the* Senate *and* People *of* Rome. When the Senate was aſſembled, where *Antony* had ſtill ſome Friends, this Edict was laid before them; but the Cauſe of the Invader was ſo bad, and his Conduct ſo flagrant, that not one Senator ſpoke in his favour. It was CICERO who led in the free Aſſembly: That great Man waved the Conſideration of the *Reference* made by the *Tribunes*, and after a long Interval of Silence, and Sentiments ſuppreſſed in over-awed Aſſemblies, he firſt reſumed the Privilege of a *Roman Senator*, and laid anew the Foundations of Freedom in *Liberty of Speech*. He took in the *whole State* of the Common-wealth *; repreſented their imminent Danger on one

* Cum Senatum ad XIII. Calend. Januarias Tribuni Pleb. vocaviſſent, deque aliâ re referrent, totam remp. ſum complexus, egique acerrimè, Senatumque jam languentem et defeſſum ad priſtinam virtutem conſuetudinemque revocavi—hic dies meaque contentio atque actio ſpem primum Populo R. attulit LIBERTATIS recuperandae. M. T. CIC. Epiſt. ad TREBONIUM.

hand, and the Methods of baffling the baſe Attempt on the other. He told the Fathers, that matters were come to that paſs, that either the *Invader* of the Republic muſt periſh, or they muſt reſolve upon living *Slaves:* he conjured them to reſume the *Spirit* and *Virtue* of their Forefathers, and either to recover that Liberty which was the peculiar Characteriſtic of their Nation, or if the fatal Period was come, to prefer a glorious Death to the laſt and worſt of human Ills: he put them in mind, that they were the *Chiefs of the great* COUNCIL *that governed the habitable World*; and that the *Roman* PEOPLE, inflamed with Deſire of their former Freedom, waited but a *Signal* from THEM, to riſe unanimous for its Recovery; he concluded with painting *Antony*'s Character, and ſetting the dreadfull Conſequence of his prevailing in ſuch a Light, that the Senate unanimouſly went into his Opinion, and paſſed a Vote, 'That the *Martian* and *fourth* Legions, who had abandoned *An-* 'tony tho' CONSUL, had done a legal and laudable Action; they 'approved of the young *Ceſar*'s Conduct, in levying Men for 'the Defence of the Common-wealth; and ratified the Com- 'mand of the two *Gauls* to DECIMUS BRUTUS and L. PLAN- 'cus, Generals, to continue, according to the *Julian* Law, un- 'til the *Senate* ſhould name their Succeſſors.'

THIS Vigour and Unanimity in the Senate raiſed a ſimilar Spirit among the *Roman* People. It communicated to the neareſt Provinces, and ſpread by degrees to the diſtant Parts of the Empire. An univerſal Ardour ſhewed itſelf to aſſert their deareſt Rights, reſume their Liberty, and reſtore the Common-wealth. When the Senate broke up, the PEOPLE ruſhed into the *Forum*, not as they uſed to do, when hired to ſerve ſome Party-Intereſt; but in ſuch a Body, as ſcarce left a Citizen at home. The great Patriot and Stateſman who had led in the Aſſembly of the Fathers, was entreated to mount the *Roſtra*, and acquaint the People with the Decrees of the Senate. He began to tell them, 'that *Antony*, tho' not expreſsly attainted, was in 'effect

'effect judged an Enemy to his Country,'—and was interrupted by a Shout, declaring that '*he was an Enemy to* ROME.' He told them, 'that the Conduct of the *Martian* and *fourth* Le-'gions was approved, who had looked upon *Antony* as no legal 'Conſul;' and was anſwered with another Shout, That *he was not Conſul.* He proceeded to let them know of the SENATE's Thanks given to the young *Ceſar*, the Ratification of the Government of *Gaul* to *Decimus Brutus*, and was beginning to lay open *Antony*'s Character and Deſigns, when he was again ſtopt by a Volley of Imprecations againſt him and his Followers, and a general Acclamation, *That* M. TULLIUS CICERO *had again ſaved the* Roman *Common-wealth.* Such was the Temper of the *Senate* and *People.*

AT this Conjuncture it appeared what a powerfull and commanding thing *real Virtue* is in its own nature; what Energy and Strength attend a Rectitude of Mind, and a ſteady purſuit of the *Public-Good. Cicero* was no *Soldier*, and conſequently had no Influence among the *Legions:* he was not very *rich*, and could not attach by *Largeſſes:* he was at this time in no *Office* of State, and could beſtow no Favours by Power: and yet—from the day he durſt appear in the Senate, after *Antony*'s Departure, until his Return with the Army, he was beyond controverſy the greateſt Man in *Rome* *. He led in all Counſels,—was the Prince of the Senate, the Oracle of the People, the Mouth of Magiſtrates, and the Idol of every Friend to Liberty and the Common-wealth. Let us not imagine that this ſupreme Authority could be exerciſed in a free State by the ſole Power of *Eloquence:* no, the greateſt Talents in that way, appear ridi-

 culous,

* Quod maximus Conſularis, maximum Conſulem te, ipſe viciſti, et laetamur, et mirari ſatis non poſſumus. Fatale, neſcio quid tuae virtuti datum——eſt enim tua TOGA omnium ARMIS felicior.——Nunc ergo vivemus liberi! nunc TE, OMNIUM MAXIME CIVIS, et mihi cariſſime, id quod maximè Reip. tenebris comperiſti, nunc TE habebimus teſtem noſtri et in *te*, et in conjunctiſſimam *tibi* Remp. amoris.—— C. CASSIUS Epiſt. ad M. T. CICERONEM.

culous, when unſupported by real Patriotiſm. But when joined with that God-like Diſpoſition, then they work the Wonders atchieved by a *Demoſthenes* and a *Cicero*. 'Twas leſs the Charm of their Tongues, however powerfull, that captivated their Audience, than a firm Perſuaſion of their being *wiſe* and *good* Men, truly bent upon ſerving their Country. This Perſuaſion procures attention to the moſt ungracefull Speaker, and adds weight to the plaineſt Words; but when it co-operates with the force of Expreſſion and Dignity of Geſture, it commands in chief, and inſpires an Aſſembly with the Paſſion of the eloquent Leader.

UNDER the Common-wealth, Power was annually ſhifting, by the Election of new *Magiſtrates*, that is, of new *Generals* and new *Judges* at home, and new *Governors* of Provinces abroad. The ſupreme Authority of the Empire was within a few days to paſs into the Hands of the Conſuls elect, Men bred in the ſame lewd School with *Antony*, (*Julius Ceſar*'s Camp) but with equal Spirit and Courage, of more elegant Manners and greater Humanity: PANSA, in particular, had not only the Appearance of the Gravity and Firmneſs of an ancient Senator, but had ſhewn himſelf a good Man in protecting the *unfortunate Friends* of *Rome* during the *Ceſarean* Calamities. Tho' War therefore was carrying on, and the Siege of *Modena* was preſſed with great ardour, yet the Conſuls elect would not treſpaſs upon ſacred Forms, nor exerciſe their Office before the firſt Day of the new Year. They then entered upon their high Function, and calling a Senate immediately after the ſolemn Sacrifice, they opened it with a *Reference* to the Fathers concerning the STATE OF THE COMMON-WEALTH, and (in conſequence of the former Act) concerning the *Honours* due to *Decimus Brutus*, and the young *Ceſar*, and the proper *Premiums* to the *Legions* who had preferred the Service of their Country to the Plunder promiſed by its *Enemy*. On this occaſion they both ſpoke, I need not

ſay

ſay eloquently; their Talents and Studies * ſecured that; but in a manner *worthy of Roman Conſuls:* and indeed no Man, who had a *Senſe* of Liberty or Honour, and a Proſpect of the Means of preventing the Subverſion of both, but muſt equally dread and deteſt ſuch a Tyrant as *Antony*. Yet as the old Ties of Party are difficultly broken thro', they ſtill kept ſome meaſures in ſpeaking of their Predeceſſor; and *Panſa* followed their late Patron *Julius Cæſar*'s Example †, in *firſt* aſking his Father-in-law *Q. Fufius Calenus* his Opinion upon the matters propoſed to Deliberation. *Calenus* was a true *Ceſarean*, an Enemy to Liberty and good Men; and inſtead of the vigorous Counſel of commanding the *Invader* to lay down his Arms, and declare him *an Enemy* in caſe of Refuſal, he gave it as his Opinion, that an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to him with Propoſitions of Peace. In *this* he was ſeconded by *Domitius Calvinus*, and *Q. Calphurnius Piſo*. That old proud Patrician, full of his Family, and careleſs of the Commonweal, had aſſumed an Air of Independency, and loudly complained of *Antony*'s Uſurpations in a Speech he had made about a Month before *Cicero*'s grand Appearance; but neither had he been ſeconded by any one Senator, nor had he himſelf come to the Senate next day. And now, whether from Envy to *Cicero* his old Adverſary, who led in the auguſt Aſſembly, or Fear of *Antony*, he made one of the three *Conſulars*, (Creatures of the late *Ceſar*) who, after a Struggle of four Days, in ſpite of *Cicero*'s Eloquence, and the good Diſpoſition of the Senate and People, prevailed in that unſeaſonable Shew of Moderation. Wherefore that ſame *Piſo*, along with the worthy but infirm *Servius Sulpicius*, and *L. Philip*, were named Com-

* Accedunt CONSULES ſummâ prudentiâ, virtute, concordiâ, multos menſes de POP. ROM. libertate commentati, atque meditati. PHILIPPIC. III.

† Poſt novam affinitatem POMPEIUM primum rogare ſententiam coepit, cum CRASSUM ſoleret. C. SUETON. in JULIO, § 21.

Commiſſioners from the *Senate* to *Antony*. Let us leave theſe three Chiefs of the State going a long Journey, in the midſt of Winter, to carry a Meſſage to one of their Subjects, who was making War by his *own* Authority, and look abroad thro' the other Parts of the Empire.

In conſequence of the treaſonable Compact between him and his Collegue, *Dolabella* haſted beyond Sea, to take poſſeſſion of *Syria*, the Province he intended to extort from *Caſſius*, under pretence of a Vote of the People *. But he thought fit to take Asia in his way, which was under the Government of a gallant Man and excellent Citizen, *C. Trebonius* the Pro-conſul. He ſent before him a *Marſian*, one *Octavius*, (a *Senator* of *Ceſar's* Creation) with a Legion, that lived at free Quarters in the Province: their plundering, as well as *Dolabella's* own abandoned Character, made the Governor ſhut the Gates of *Pergamus* and *Smyrna* upon *Octavius*, and only allow him a Market without the Walls: But Dolabella coming up himſelf ſoon after, in a peacefull manner, was kindly received by *Trebonius*; and after much familiar Diſcourſe, and many Embraces, took his leave as on his way to *Syria*. The *Pro-conſul* however ſent a Body of Troops after him, who ſeeing him march directly forward, and ſuſpecting nothing, returned to Town in the evening, having left a Company to watch his motions, if he ſhould turn out of the road. Theſe, as ſoon as it was Night, he ſurrounded and put to Death; and ſpeeding back to unguarded *Symrna*, he ſcaled the Walls, and maſtered the Town before morning. The *Pro-conſul*, dreading nothing, was a-bed, and ſaw the Glance of the Ruffians Swords before he knew of the leaſt Commotion. Then the furious Traitor ruſhed into the Room, and after pouring out Gall and Inſult on his Priſoner, with execrable Inhumanity delivered him over to be ſcourged and tortured for two days, by a Fugitive

* Dolabella tranſmarinas (Provincias) decrevit *ſibi*.

C. V. Paterc. Lib. II. § 60.

Fugitive *Samarius*, to make him diſcover the public Money. TREBONIUS behaved with unſhaken Courage under the inhuman Tormentor; and amidſt excruciating Pains expired *a Hero*. His Head was then cut off, and his Body, after being dragged thro' the Streets, was ordered to be toſſed into the Sea. But the brutal *Dolabella*, who had fed his Eyes on the mangled Coarſe, as if he had conquered *Aſia* by murdering the Governor, flew from Town to Town, levying Men, extorting Money, and plundering where-ever he went. In this manner he had probably over-run all the *eaſtern* Part of the Empire, if a Man every way unlike him, and of whom we ſhall ſoon give a particular Account, had not checked his Career.

THE Governors of the *weſtern* Provinces were, *Aſinius Pollio* in the *farther* SPAIN, *Emilius Lepidus* (the high Prieſt) in the *nearer*; *L. Munatius Plancus* in the *farther* GAUL, as *Decimus Brutus* in LOMBARDY. To the ſouth, AFRICA was under *L. Cornificius*, and EGYPT was not yet a *Roman* Province, but governed by the famous Queen, *Cleopatra*, who had fled terrified from *Rome*, upon the unexpected Exit of her Gallant, *Julius Ceſar*. While the Memory of the Tyrant's Fate was freſh, and the Republic ſeemed to be in a fair way of being re-eſtabliſhed, every one of theſe *Governors* profeſſed themſelves good Citizens, and true Friends to the public Liberty; they all wrote to the Fathers, *that they and their Armies would be at the diſpoſal of the* SENATE *and* PEOPLE: But it afterwards appeared that only *two* of them were ſincere, *Cornificius* in *Africa*, and *Decimus* in *Lombardy*: all the reſt waiting the *Event* of the Conteſt, in order to declare for the prevailing Party.

BUT an uncommiſſioned Captain threatned theſe Parts with greater Commotions. SEXTUS, the youngeſt of *Pompey*'s Sons had eſcaped from the bloody Battle of *Munda*, with his elder Brother CNEIUS: that brave Youth, jumping into a Boat, and happening to entangle his Foot in a Rope, one of his Retinue officiouſly drew his Sword, and intending to cut the Rope, wounded

wounded CNEIUS in the Heel. This diſabled him from flying, but not from making a ſtout Reſiſtance, and dying Sword in hand, when overtaken by *Ceſar*'s Troopers under a Tree near *Carteia*, on the *Spaniſh* Shore. SEXTUS then retired into the Faſtneſſes of *Portugal* and *Biſcay*, and lived unknown for ſome time, the Captain, they ſay, of a Company of Robbers. But having great Opportunities in that extenſive Country (interſected with high Ridges of Mountains, deep Valleys and great Rivers) to ſecure himſelf and his People, he aſſumed his own Name, very favourable in *Spain*, and immediately the Remains of the noble Army that had fiercely diſputed their Liberties with *Ceſar*, reſorted to him, and Volunteers in great numbers from the *Spaniſh* Towns formerly under his Father's Clientſhip. He ſoon became powerfull enough to merit the Dictator's Attention, who ſent his Lieutenant *C. Carrinas* againſt him, as to an eaſy Conqueſt: But *Sextus* ſo harraſſed him with ſudden Attacks, ſtolen Marches, and intercepted Convoys, that *Ceſar* ſaw the neceſſity of ſending a Leader of more Spirit againſt the *young Pompey*. He pitched upon the famous *Aſinius Pollio*; who had been but ſhort while in the Province, when the News of the Dictator's Death, blunted the edge of his Keenneſs, and the Turn which Affairs ſeemed to take, ſuperſeded his Commiſſion.

THE Accounts of *Ceſar*'s Fate reached SEXTUS POMPEY at *Cartagena*, the very Day he had attacked and carried the Town of *Borea*. It is not eaſy to conceive the Joy that diffuſed itſelf thro' the Camp, or the Revolution that immediately followed throughout *Spain*. Perſons of Diſtinction came flocking to him from all Parts; ſo that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the Head of *ſeven* Legions; that is upwards of thirty ſix thouſand Men. In this proſperous State he wrote a public Letter to the ſupreme Magiſtracy of *Rome*; in which, after bewailing the Calamities of his Country, he propoſed, *that in order to reſtore Peace and Liberty, all the Armies on foot, under what Leaders ſoever, ſhould be diſbanded.* The Letter was only ſuperſcribed To THE CONSULS:

SULS: But *Philo*, *Pompey*'s Freeman, who brought it, had orders, before it ſhould be delivered, to ſhew it to his Father-in-law, *L. Scribonius Libo* the Senator: *he* brought it over to *M. Brutus*, in the little Iſland *Niſita*, upon the Coaſt of *Naples*; where *Cicero* happened likewiſe to be taking his leave, when on his way to *Greece*. That great Orator's Judgment of it is, 'that 'there were ſome few Improprieties in the Language *,—but 'that otherwiſe, it was written with proper Gravity, and not at 'all aſſuming.' As it was addreſſed *To the* CONSULS, who might think fit to ſuppreſs what came only to themſelves, *Libo* was adviſed to add, and TO THE PRETORS, TRIBUNES, and SENATE. But tho' SEXTUS made this peacefull Propoſal *of diſbanding all the Armies* in public, he wrote privately to his Father-in-law, *that he would treat on no other Terms than of being fully reſtored to his Father's Houſe and Eſtate* †, now in the poſſeſſion of the Purchaſer of Forfeitures *M. Antony*.

UPON the Letter's being preſented, *M. Lepidus* Prefect of the hithermoſt *Spain*, who did not care to cope with SEXTUS in the field, upon pretence of his relation to him, and of love of Peace, propoſed *to reſtore him to his Country, to inveſt him with the ſame Command his Father had exerciſed at Sea*, that is to make him *Lord High Admiral*, and at the ſame time (to ſave his Friend *M. Antony*) that the *Price paid for* Pompey the Great's *Houſe and Eſtate, ſhould be repaid to* Sextus *out of the public Treaſury*. This Propoſal was chearfully embraced by the *Senate*; and the young Man, thinking himſelf indeed reſtored to his Father's Honours and Fortunes, and that the civil War was drawing to an end, honeſtly diſmiſſed his Army, and came by Sea to *Marſeilles*. But there, inſtead of a general Pacification, hearing of the Siege of *Modena*, of the March of the Conſul *Hirtius* and the young *Cæſar* againſt *Antony*, he acted in virtue of his Commiſſion as

* Pauca παρὰ λέξιν; caeteroqui et ſatis graviter, et non contumaciter——

† Ad ipſum autem LIBONEM ſcripſit, *Nihil eſſe, niſi ad larem ſuum liceret.*
M. CICER. at Att. Ep. 4. Lib. XVI.

Admiral, and gathered a maritime Force, which he thought would enable him to give Law to *Italy*, and all along the *Mediterranean* Shore.

BUT it was in the Provinces lying on the *other* Side of the *Adriatic* that the greateſt Revolution happened. M. BRUTUS had ſailed from *Italy* like a private Man, without declaring whether he would go to *Crete*, the ſubſtituted Province, or inſiſt upon the Senate's prior Ratification, and go to *Macedon*. He landed at ATHENS, the Seat of ancient Politeneſs, a Place much favoured by the *Romans*, and reſorted to by all the *young* Nobility, and the curious *old*, as the School of Life and Learning;—Studies leſs ſeparated then as now. The *Athenians*, thro' a Series of Misfortunes, and dreadful Calamities, (when the City was taken by *Sylla*) ſtill preſerved the Elegance of their Manners, and retained at leaſt, their old LOVE of LIBERTY. Such Men therefore as BRUTUS and CASSIUS could no ſooner arrive there, than the Attention of the City, and indeed of all *Greece*, muſt turn upon them. The Magiſtrates received them in a manner ſuitable to their Character, and to the *Athenian* Ingenuity; and as it was their way, to *borrow a Grace* from the Times of their early Virtue, they decreed, that Statues ſhould be erected to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and placed next to thoſe of HARMODIUS and ARISTOGITON, who had killed *Hipparchus* the Son of *Piſiſtratus*, and relieved *Athens* from Tyranny.

AT firſt, BRUTUS aſſumed no *public* Character: he lodged with a private Acquaintance, and paſſed many of his hours in the Schools of *Theomneſtus* the Platoniſt, and *Cratippus* the Peripatetic, as if, retiring from Affairs, he had come there to philoſophize. In this unſuſpected way of Life he had opportunities to *prepare* without noiſe. He diſpatched a truſty Man, *Heroſtratus*, to ſound the Inclinations of the Prefects and Commanders in the adjacent Provinces, *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*; and informed himſelf what Friends and Enemies bore ſway in the ſeveral States of *Greece*. But it had ſtill a more immediate advantage. When

When he arrived at *Athens*, the City was thronged with the young Heirs of the firſt Families in *Rome*, whoſe Fathers for the moſt part had fallen in their Country's Cauſe, fighting againſt *Julius Ceſar*. Among theſe were *Cn. Domitius Enobarbus*, *L. Licinius Lucullus*, *T. Labienus*, and *M. Porcius Cato*, Youths ſufficiently marked by their Father's Fame. But *Brutus* took particular notice of a Pupil of *Cratippus*, the young TULLY, and of another young Gentleman, a Scholar of *Theomneſtus* *, recommended more by his Genius and Manners than the Antiquity of his Family. This was *Q. Horatius Flaccus* †, whom he ſoon entruſted, tho' ſcarce two and twenty, with the Command of a LEGION, that is, between five and ſix thouſand Men. *Brutus* had always about him a Circle of theſe young Patricians; and the Reputation of his Virtue, and Sweetneſs of his Temper, eaſily won youthfull Hearts, fond of Honour, and untainted with Knavery; ſo that when he departed from *Athens*, he left the Schools of the Philoſophers very thin, carrying with him the Flower of the remaining Nobility.

BUT firſt *M. Apuleius* Pro-queſtor, that is Vice-Treaſurer of *Aſia*, returning home with the Revenue of that rich Province, was met at ſea by *Brutus* off *Cariſto*, on the ſouth Point of *Negropont*. *Apuleius* was an accompliſhed Man, well affected to the Cauſe of Liberty, and *Brutus*'s particular Friend ‡. He both frankly delivered the Treaſure into his hands, and joining Fleets, they entered the *Pireo* together with loud demonſtrations of Joy. Then marching up to Town, there was a ſplendid Entertainment prepared for their Reception; and to heighten their mirth, it happened, as if by deſign, to be *Brutus*'s Birth-day. The Company increaſed, Healths went round, and as they warmed, Libations were offered to the Gods, with Vows for Victory to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*: at laſt LIBERTY to the Ro-

* Q. HORAT. Epiſt. ad Florum. lin. 45.

† Q. HORAT. Epod. Ode XVI. lin. 12. Lib. I. Satyr. 6. lin. 48.

‡ Ἄνδρα χαρίεντα καὶ γνώριμον. ΠΛΟΤΤΑΡΧ.

MANS was propoſed, when, fired with the Name, the moderate *Brutus* called for a capacious Cup, and drank it off to a Health, he thought his beſt Blood not too dear to purchaſe. Soon after this, *Antiſtius Vetus*, the Treaſurer of *Achaia*, put upwards of *L.* 16,000 *ſterl.* into his hands *; and, which was more valuable, joined himſelf with all his Intereſt to *Brutus*. *Antiſtius* was a *real Roman*; he had refuſed to give *Dolabella*, when he was over-running theſe Provinces, with Bodies both of Foot and Horſe, the ſmalleſt Sum; and choſe to run all Riſques from the Snares of a Ravager, who ſtood at nothing; than even *appear* to have been *forced* to deliver up the public Money to ſuch a Traitor.—By theſe and ſuch like means, BRUTUS came ſoon to be poſſeſſed of a well-furniſhed military Cheſt: As for the immenſe Amount, mentioned by one of the old Writers, that he had early amaſſed upwards of three millions *ſterling* †, I take to be exaggerated, or meant for the time of his higheſt after-Proſperity. His intermeddling with the public Money was done upon the ſame Principle as the deſtroying the Uſurper, *To reſcue the Republic out of the Hands of its new Oppreſſors*, and was, in effect, a Declaration of War.

NOR did he delay entering upon Buſineſs; but with the Band of noble Volunteers, and the Troops he had got firſt from *M. Apuleius* ‡, then from *Antiſtius*, he marched away thro' Froſt and Snow for *Macedon*, where the Governor *Q. Hortenſius*, (the Son of the celebrated Orator) had entered deeply into his Deſigns, and was buſy levying Men for his Service **.

M. JUNIUS

* *Brutus* in his Letters to *Cicero* calls it XX HS. which *Plutarch* expreſſes in Grecian Money by πενῆκονῖα μυρίαδες.

† Καὶ ἔιχε ἤδη χρημάτων ἐς μύρια καὶ ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα. *i. e.* 3,049,400 Pounds. Αππιαν. ἐμφυλ. Βιϐ. γ.

‡ M. APULEIO, teſtis eſt per literas BRUTUS, cum *Principem* fuiſſe ad conatum excrcitûs comparandi. PHILIPPICA X.

** Q. HORTENSIUS Procos. adjutorem ſe BRUTO ad comparandum exercitum, fideliſſimum ac conſtantiſſimum praebuit——omniaque ejus conſilia cum conſiliis BRUTI conjuncta fuerunt. Ibid.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS, or by his adoptive Name, *Q. Cepio Brutus*, was deſcended of the firſt *Roman* Conſul, who expelled the *Tarquins*, whom he was likewiſe ſaid to reſemble in his Looks and Perſon. By his Mother he had *Servilius Ahala* among his Anceſtors, who put *Spurius Manlius* to death in the *Forum*, when he was aiming at abſolute Power. The Family had produced many great Men,—*great* when ROME's Virtue was in its Splendour. Among them, the Father of our *Brutus* being ſurprized at Sea in *Sylla*'s Wars, and ſurrounded by the Enemy's Fleet, ſet the Handle of his Sword againſt the Deck of the Ship, and fell upon the Point: tho' others ſay he was killed by *Pompey*'s Order, then a Commander under *Sylla*. The young *Marcus* early diſcovered a noble Nature, accompanied with a Sweetneſs and Humanity that equally fitted him for Arts or Arms; but had intermixed a high Senſe of Honour and a *reſolute independent Spirit*, (the Mark of a Hero) that rendered him impatient of Wrong, and unable to brook the Appearance of Indignity. With this Turn, he had been happy in falling into the beſt hands for his Education; he and his great Friend *C. Caſſius* having been taught by *Staberius Hiera*, a Perſon of ſuch Generoſity and Courage, that during the Heat of *Sylla*'s Party-Rage, he ventured to take the Children of the forfeited Families under his Tuition, and taught them *without Fees*. The Youth's Curioſity growing with his Years, left him unacquainted with no School or Sect of the *Grecian* Philoſophy; but the Principles of PLATO, diſtinguiſhed by the Name of the OLD ACADEMY, connecting the Strictneſs of Morals with the great Ends of Life, beſt ſuited his Temper and Inclinations. He liſtened with pleaſure to the Lectures of *Antiochus* of *Aſcalon*, an eminent *Platoniſt*, and eloquent like his Maſter; but made a Companion of his Brother *Ariſtus*, a Man inferior to many Profeſſors of Philoſophy in the Talent of ſpeaking; but equal to the beſt.

beſt in the Regularity and Mildneſs of his Manners *. *Brutus*'s Propenſity to Wiſdom, made him retain many of that Character, (the *genuine* one of a Philoſopher) Men equally remarkable for their Integrity, as for ſuperior Knowledge. Among theſe, *Empylus* was diſtinguiſhed by a Flow of manly Eloquence, along with better Qualities; and ſhewed that he deſerved the honour of living in familiarity with his great Patron by a ſhort but accurate Account of *Ceſar*'s Death, inſcribed BRUTUS, which is unhappily loſt. But what moulded the Youth more to Virtue than all their Lectures, was the Converſation and Example of his Uncle *Marcus Porcius Cato*. Him he admired as a Pattern of Conduct in public and private Life; and had the happineſs to *perceive* the Beauty of his inflexible Attachment to Juſtice, Liberty, and his Country. Being now capable of Affairs, he was ſent for by that great Man to *Cyprus*, to be a Check upon the other Miniſters in the Management of the Royal Treaſure; and tho' he undertook the Taſk with reluctance, (as too mean for a noble Youth to dip in Money-matters) yet he acquitted himſelf of it ſo as to merit CATO's Approbation. Here he ſaw the Model of a real Patriot; and, if there be ſuch a thing among Men, of pure and perfect Virtue †. He ſaw, and drank deep of that

* Attende quaeſo BRUTE, ſatiſne videatur haec oratio complexa ANTIOCHI ſententiam, quam tibi, qui fratrem ejus ARISTUM frequenter audieris, maximè probatam exiſtimo. M. T. CICER. de Fin. Lib. V.

† This high Character, the higheſt competent to a Mortal, was allowed to CATO by all Antiquity, excepting *Julius Ceſar*, who did his utmoſt to deface it. CICERO removed from the *Forum* and Buſineſs, by the Uſurpation, tho' he durſt not openly condemn the lawleſs Government, yet indirectly arraigned it and its Author, by writing an eloquent Panegyric on their chief Oppoſer, M. CATO. *Ceſar* looked upon the Praiſes of this illuſtrious *Roman*, his irreconcileable Enemy, as ſo many Reproaches upon himſelf; and having the Ambition to be the foremoſt of Mankind in *Arts*, as well as *military Proweſs*, he took that opportunity at once to vye with the *Orator*, and blacken the *Patriot*. *Cicero* had inſcribed his Panegyric CATO; and *Ceſar* called his Anſwers (for he doubled the Attack) ANTICATOS. He introduced them with high Commendations of the celebrated Speaker againſt whom he wrote. He compared both his Life and his Eloquence to that of PERICLES

that Rectitude of Heart and Conduct that leads ſtraight to Heroiſm and Immortality. Nor could ſuch a Pattern be ſet before an abler Imitator. *Brutus*, with a Temper wonderfully mild, had a Nobleneſs and Elevation of Soul, more frequent in impetuous fiery Spirits, tho' not ſo laſting or true. But naturally calm and comprehenſive, and little moved by Paſſion or Pleaſure, he acted from ſteady and unerring Views of Honour and Duty. Let us revere ſuch Virtue, and without deſpiſing inferior Accompliſhments, or offending thoſe poſſeſſed of them, conſider its native Conſequences. The open generous Heart of a virtuous Man dictates *plain*, and if I may uſe the Term, *unmollified* Sentiments. He acts fearleſs what he thinks is *right*, aſks roundly what he deems his *due*, and in ſo doing appears *rough* and *haughty* to thoſe,

Beaten and hack'ney'd in the Ways of Men.

An

PERICLES and THERAMENES, two of the greateſt *Grecian* Stateſmen, and moſt eminent Orators of their Time; and artfully ſubjoined, 'That the Public muſt not 'look for ſuch a Piece from him, in point of Language and Rhetoric, as *Cicero*'s 'eloquent Compoſition, nor compare the rough Stile of a Soldier, who had paſſed 'his Life in Arms and Camps, with the Addreſs and Fluency of the moſt elabo-'rate Orator of the Age.'

PLUTARCH ſays, 'that he was prompted to write his *Anti-Catos* rather by Am-'bition, than any perſonal Hatred againſt the Man, whoſe Memory he was beſpat-'tering.——But yet, (which ſeems not ſo conſiſtent) that *he had poured out abun-'dance of Wrath* *, and had amaſſed *a great Collection of Accuſations againſt* CA-'TO.' I make no doubt but many will be curious to know what could be ſaid againſt ſuch conſummate Virtue, or with what falſe Colours its Splendour could be obſcured? In general, the cunning *Ceſar*, not able to detract from the ſolid ſhining Qualities of the virtuous Man, ſtuck principally to the little Negligences of Life,—— Sins againſt *Politeneſs*, and *formal* Civility; tho', at laſt, when heated with his Subject, and carried away by Paſſion, he did not ſtick, contrary to the Senſe of Mankind, to lay the groſſeſt Vices to his Charge.——So that, like the Compoſures of a late Writer of our own Country †, the *Anticatos* were moſt elegantly and impudently written. Their chief Heads, ſo far as we can glean them up, were probably theſe following.

HEADS

* Ἐκχέας ὀργὴν τοσαύτην—ἔγραψεν ὃν, πολλὰς τίνας κατὰ τῦ ΚΑΤΩΝΟΣ αἰτίας συναγάγων. Πλουταρχ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

† DISSERTATIONS upon PARTIES.

An Infirmity this, if it be one, to which the greateſt and beſt Men are only obnoxious; who deſire nothing but what they are convinced is *juſt*, and whoſe Speech and Stile partake of the *Strength* and *Gravity* of their Conduct. Whereas a *little Mind*, either vain or vitious, conſcious of Cowardice, Deceit, or ſelfiſh Deſigns, is full of Courteſy and Compliments, which it employs as *Blinds* or ſubſtitutes for *Realities*. Hence the Imputation of *Haughtineſs* to BRUTUS, and of *Ruſticity* to CATO; and hence the Complaints of *Arrogance* and *Incivility* in the former's Letters, made by *a delicate Man, long admired and immenſely flattered by powerfull Criminals, whom his Eloquence was daily ſaving from Death or Diſgrace* *. But let us ſtick to Truth: A Mind conſcious of no Crime, full of *upright Intentions*, and of *Reſolution* to execute them, is not apt to *fawn*; and ſpeaks *too ſtrong*, to be extremely *polite*; nor will the Man who depends upon *himſelf* ever be brought to talk or act with the Courteſy and Complaiſance of an humble Suitor or depending Client. BRUTUS breathing nothing but diſintereſted Goodneſs and exalted Sentiments, at his Return from *Cyprus* found his Country on the Precipice, and ready to be torn in pieces by a civil War. He had been taught to hate *Cn. Pompey* as the Murderer of his Father, and

* BRUTUS ad me, etiam cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀκοινονήτως ſolet ſcribere——Omninò, (ſoli enim ſumus) nullas unquam ad me literas miſit BRUTUS, in quibus non eſſet arrogans ἀκοινονητὸν aliquid——Sed planè parum cogitat, *quid* ſcribat aut ad *quem*.

M. T. CICER. ad Attic. Lib. VI. Ep. 1. et 3.

HEADS OF CESAR'S *ANTI-CATOS*.

I. CATO's AFFECTATION and Singularity in *Dreſs*, differing from all the Citizens; wearing *black* inſtead of *Purple*, walking bare-footed, and going in a ſhort *Coat*, without his Gown, to the *Forum*.

The ROMANS *were become effeminate, and profuſe in their* Dreſs, *as in every thing beſides; and wanted ſuch a Pattern of Frugality, and of Contempt of Faſhions fooliſhly deemed ſacred.*

II. His AFFECTATION and *Ill-manners*, in *reading* in the Senate-Houſe, as if he could ſtudy in no other Place.

CATO

and had often met him without deigning to ſalute him: but now, that he was at the Head of the SENATE, ſtanding up for the LAWS and CONSTITUTION, he viewed him with different eyes; and ſacrificing his private Reſentment to the Intereſts of his Country, he ſailed a Volunteer to *Theſſaly*, to partake of the danger of the deciſive Battle. His coming, and coming at that nick of Time, ſo ſurpriſed and pleaſed that great Man, that, ſtarting from his Tribunal, he took *Brutus* in his Arms, and ſaluted him as his Superior. In the Camp, it is known that he ſpent the Time he was not with *Pompey*, ſo intent upon Books, that he was buſy writing an Abridgment of *Polybius*, the night before the *Pharſalian* Field. But it is not well known why *Ceſar*, with the ſanguinary Order to his *Veterans*, to ſtrike at the Faces of the *Patricians* *, enjoined his Centurions to ſave *M. Brutus*; the common Opinion, that he was his Son, being ſurely a Miſtake †: nor is it ſufficiently noticed, that he kept afterwards

* FACIEM FERI miles!

† BRUTUS was but ſixteen Years younger than *Ceſar*; and was about twenty at the *Catiline* Conſpiracy, when *Ceſar* and *Servilia*'s Intrigue was at its height.

CATO *kept the Senate-Hours moſt punctually, minded the Buſineſs tranſacting in it more than any other Senator* ‡. *But as the* CONSULS, *or other* Magiſtrates, *were ſometimes long behind the Time of aſſembling, (employed in Sacrifices or other Ceremonies) and the Meeting was idle the mean while,* Cato's *inſatiate Thirſt of Knowledge made him chooſe to* read *rather than* prate *with thoſe about him.*

III. His *diffident ſuſpicious* TEMPER; in diſtruſting *Canidius*, and intending *Munatius* ſhould be a check upon him in his *Cyprian*-Commiſſion; and then in writing for *Brutus* to be a check upon both.

Conſidering the Roman Manners, *and the Nature of the Employment (intermeddling with the* Treaſures *of a King, and the* Wealth *of his* Wardrobe) *this Conduct, inſtead of Cenſure, deſerves Admiration.*

IV. His INGRATITUDE and *Churliſhneſs* to the ſame *Munatius*, his great Friend and Admirer, inſomuch as to drive him from *Cyprus* in high Diſguſt.

The Story is this: Munatius, *thro' Negligence or Accident, had been late in coming to* Cyprus, *and landed long after* Cato. *At his Arrival, he found the Lodgings aſſigned to*

‡ Ἐκκλησίαν δὲ καὶ Βουλὴν οὐδεμίαν παρῆκεν.—εἰς δὲ ΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΟΝ, εἰσήει τε πρῶτος, καὶ τελευταῖος ἀπηλλάττετο.—ἀπεδήμησε δ' οὐδέποτε Βουλῆς γενομένης. ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ. ΚΑΤΩΝ.

at a diſtance from the Dictator, when it was in his power to have been his Second in the Empire; and only employed his diſhonouring Friendſhip in protecting good Men, and convincing the Uſurper by his bold Defence of the great Ally of the *Romans*, King *Deiotarus*, that BRUTUS was not to be obliged but *by reſtoring the* COMMON-WEALTH. But in a little while, as *Julius* made it plain by all his Words and Actions, that ſo *juſt* a Deſign was far from his Thoughts; that, on the contrary, all his Meaſures tended to rivet the Chains of Slavery upon a free People, *this noble Roman* formed and executed the glorious Reſolution of delivering his Country, with a Dignity and Heroiſm that has rendered his Name the *Terror* of *Tyrants*, and *Boaſt* of the FREE.

No

to him but mean, (probably the Fault of the Quarter-maſter) and when he went firſt to wait upon the Pretor, *found him ſhut up with* Canidius, *taking Inventaries, and was refuſed Admittance.—Under theſe Prejudices, he thought his Reception afterwards but cold.——He complained, particularly of the* Preference *given to* Canidius; *and received for Anſwer,——That* Canidius's *early Arrival,——his Acquaintance with King* PTOLOMY's *Affairs, and his now approved Fidelity, gave him a good Title to the Employment.* Munatius *took the Anſwer in ill part, as a* Preference *of* (Canidius) *a new Man, to an old and tried Friend,——refuſed to come to dine with* Cato *when invited,——or to attend the Council next day when called to it. At this* Cato *grew angry in his turn,——threatened to* take Pledges of him *for Attendance, (as the Law preſcribed the Commander in chief to do to a Recuſant) and* Munatius, *in contempt of his Threats, ſailed away in great Wrath for* Italy. *Here was no Diſtruſt, nor ill Uſage of his Friend; but at bottom a ſort of* Love-jealouſy *in* Munatius, that any Man ſhould ſtand higher in *Cato*'s Thoughts than himſelf. *The Diſguſt blew over,—their Friendſhip cemented cloſer than ever,—and* Munatius *wrote* MEMOIRS *from which the excellent* Thraſeas Paetus (VIRTUE, *as* Tacitus *calls him,* IN HUMAN SHAPE) *afterwards compoſed his* LIFE OF CATO *.

V. His AMBITION, in taking upon him the Inſpection and Controul of *Elections* which belonged ſolely to the *Conſuls*, or, in their abſence, to the *Magiſtrate* next in Dignity.

It was one of the Wonders wrought by his known Integrity, that rival Candidates ſhould pay greater Regard to, and put more Confidence in his private *Determination than in the Judgment of the* higheſt Tribunals.

VI. His

* Καὶ γὰρ ΜΟΥΝΑΤΙΟΣ σύγγραμμα περὶ Κάτωνος ἐξέδωκεν, ᾧ μάλιστα ΘΡΑΣΕΑΣ ἐπηκολούθησε. ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ.

No ſooner therefore was it heard that M. BRUTUS had drawn the ſword, and was in motion, than the Remains of the Senatorial Army that was broken at *Pharſalia* rouzed, and ranged themſelves under his Banners. *L. Piſo*, Lieutenant to the new Governor C. ANTONY, was leading a Legion to his General; but being met by the *young* CICERO, the Soldiers abandoned *Piſo*, put themſelves under the brave Youth's Authority; and not long after, *Brutus*, admiring the Spirit, Capacity, and Hatred of Tyranny, that appeared in the young TULLY, gave him the Command of his whole Cavalry. It had been concerted between *Antony* and *Dolabella*, that the *Infantry* annexed to *Syria* becauſe of the report of a *Parthian* War, ſhould be tranſported to *Italy*, but that the *Horſe* ſhould be retained by *Dolabella*. They were accordingly marching in two Squadrons, one under *Cor. Cinna*, another under *Dolabella*'s Queſtor. The firſt quickly deſerted their

VI. His AVARICE: of which *Ceſar* pretended to adduce three Proofs. I. His parting with his Lady *Marcia*, as a Bait to the rich *Hortenſius*, and taking her back with a large Jointure, or Marriage-Settlement, after his Death. II. His having cauſed the Aſhes of his Brother CEPIO to be ſifted, for the melted Gold of the Ornaments burnt with his Body on the funeral Pile. III. His embezzling the *Cyprian* Treaſure, and neither bringing home any Account of the *Specie*, or Inventary of the *Royal Furniture*.

As to the firſt, *upon what Motive he was prevailed with* to give up *a Lady he approved, I cannot pretend to tell. But it is certain*, he took her back *to govern his Family, and look after his Affairs, when he was upon the Point of going beyond Sea to the unhappy civil War. The* ſecond *is mere Calumny. His exceſſive Fondneſs for his Brother, and immoderate grieving for his Death, ſeems to have been* CATO's Foible, (*if it was one*) *which put him upon rearing a ſplendid* TOMB *for him in the* Forum *of* Enos *in* Thrace, *where he died, and employing more than* L. 1500 *on the Building. The Princes and States all around ſent Gifts* (*Money, Spiceries, Veſtures*) *to honour the Funeral of the deceaſed*; *whereof* Cato *returned the Money, paid for the Perfumes and Draperies, and at dividing the Succeſſion with his little Niece, ſtated nothing of the immenſe Expence of the Funeral. The* third *is of a piece with the ſecond:* CATO *was at incredible Pains in ſaving all the King of* Cyprus's *Effects, in making them turn to the higheſt Account, by preventing all Fraud among his own Servants and all Colluſion at the Auctions: But was unfortunate, in* TWO *Copies of his Accompts which he intended as* Patterns of Exactneſs, *being loſt*; *one at Sea, with his Secretary* Philargyrus *and the other burnt with his own Tent, in the middle of the Market-Place of* Corfu.

VII. His

Leader, and joined BRUTUS in *Theſſaly:* the other Body gave themſelves up to *Cn. Domitius*, a young Man worthy of his high Deſcent, in the ſame manner as *Piſo*'s Legion had done to *Cicero*. At the ſame time *Brutus* being informed, that a Magazine of Arms, which *Ceſar* had prepared for his *Parthian* Expedition, was at *Dimitriada*, and ready to be ſhipt off for *Antony*, he haſted thither, and ſeized it as a great Acquiſition in the Beginning of a War. Then turning northwards, he marched up to *Macedon*, and formed two Legions of the Men raiſed by *Hortenſius*, partly *Romans*, and partly *Macedonians*, whom he trained in the *Roman* Diſcipline: But hearing that *C. Antony* was come in perſon to poſſeſs himſelf of *Macedon*, (by the ſame Right his elder Brother was invading *Lombardy*) and that not contented with *Macedon*, was endeavouring likewiſe to ſeize upon *Illyricum*, and make himſelf Maſter of the Troops (Part of *Vatinius*'s Army) that were lying about *Apollonia* and *Durazzo*, *Brutus* made haſte to aſſemble his Forces, and undertook a quick and terrible March acroſs a rugged mountainous Country, in the moſt inclement Seaſon of the Year. Here it was that the Accident

VII. His PRIDE and *Ruſticity* in taking no Notice of the *Conſuls*, *Pretors*, *Senate*, and better Part of the *People*, ſtanding upon both Sides of the *Tiber* to view his Return.

The Conſuls *and* Pretors *were not there as* Magiſtrates, *nor the* Fathers *as a* Senate. *It was Curioſity that clad the Banks of the River with Citizens of all Ranks, to ſee* CATO returning with the Royal Galleys of CYPRUS. *The Affectation of* ſlight Popularity *was become one of the Vices of* ROME, *and had need of Contempt poured upon it, when it was not the Produce of public Service and eminent Virtue.*

VIII. His PARTIALITY; in accuſing *Licinius Murena* of Bribery and Corruption in the Conſular Elections, and paſſing over *D. Silanus* the other Candidate, equally guilty, becauſe he was *his Brother-in-law.*

If this be true, it is the Blemiſh of Cato's *Life, and of that Virtue that moſt exalts Mankind,* JUSTICE. *But* Plutarch, *upon whoſe Teſtimony the Fact ſtands, is by no means an* exact *Author; and I cannot doubt but ſome Circumſtance is ſuppreſſed, which if known, would ſet the Matter in quite another Light. I am likewiſe apt to believe, that* Julius *would make but ſlender Uſe of this Handle againſt* Cato. *His Regard for* CATO's *Siſter,* Silanus's *Wife, was well known, and dwelling too long upon ſo tender a Point, might throw a Ridicule upon his whole Performance.*

IX. His

Accident happened which endangered his Life. Near *Durazzo*, and far before his Equipage, he was ſeized amidſt the Snows with the *Bulimia*, and fainted for want of Food. His Guards ran up to the Gates of the Town, to aſk a Loaf of the Centinels for the General; and they haſted to ſupply him with Refreſhments, as if he had been their own Commander; a piece of Humanity of which both they and the Inhabitants ſoon reaped the fruits when the Town fell into his hands. For the infamous *Vatinius*, deformed in Perſon as in Mind, who by the baſeſt Services had wriggled himſelf into Power, was obliged by his Officers to open the Gates of *Durazzo*, and reſign his Command of ſeven Legions to *Brutus*.

C. ANTONY in the mean time had taken the Field with about ſeven thouſand Men, and marching to *Butrinto*, was met by the young *Cicero*, with a Detachment of the main Army, and ſome Squadrons of Horſe. A ſharp Engagement enſued, in which *Antony* was routed, with the loſs of twelve hundred Men. After this, not daring to face *Brutus*'s ſuperior Force, he laid an Ambuſh to ſurpriſe and carry him off. *Brutus* was cautious, and not only avoided it, but ſoon after ſurrounded him and his whole Army in a Valley, where he could eaſily have cut them in pieces.

Power,

IX. His PUSILLANIMITY in quitting SICILY during the civil War to *Aſinius Pollio*, when he could eaſily have held it,——and made it a Refuge to his *ſenatorial Friends* †.

CATO *viewed the civil War in a different Light from the Chiefs of either Party: To him it appeared a Calamity of the deepeſt Nature, not to be alleviated by the Victory's inclining to* this *Side or the* other. To ſave the Citizens of ROME, *was the ſingle Point he drove at. With this View he always diſſuaded* Pompey *from hazarding a Battle, and with* this *View, he choſe to give up a* Province *he could have retained, rather than ſpill* Roman *Blood in a* Bye-cauſe, *that, loſt or won, could have little or no Influence on the* grand Deciſion.

† Concurſus *Siculorum* ad CATONEM dicitur factus; oraſſe ut reſiſteret, omnia pollicitos; commotum illum, delectum habere caepiſſe: non credo——potuiſſe certé tenere illam provinciam ſcio.—CATO, qui Siciliam tenere, nullo negotio potuit, et ſi tenuiſſet, omnes boni ad eum ſe contuliſſent, *Syracuſis* profectus eſt, ante diem viii. calend. Maii. CICER. ad Attic. Lib. X. Ep. 13. et 17.

X. His

Power, they ſay, is the Touchſtone of Men. Inſtead of deſtroying his Enemies, he ordered his Men to ſalute them as Fellow-Citizens: they were obſtinate, and made no Return. But *Brutus*'s Goodneſs was greater than their Obſtinacy: he let *Antony* and his Troops march off unhurt,—and in a little time *again* overtook him among the Rocks and Fens of *Canina*, hemmed them in on all ſides, ſo that it was impoſſible for them to eſcape; and when they were now expecting Extremities, he again ordered his own Legions to ſalute them as Friends. This at laſt diſarmed them;—they ſaid BRUTUS was certainly *the humane worthy Man* he was called,—returned the Salute, and ſurrendered themſelves with their General a Priſoner. Hereupon *Brutus*, Maſter now of *Greece* and *Illyricum* in two Months time, wrote a Letter to the Senate, acquainting them with what he had done, and aſſuring them that his Army and theſe Provinces, were now at the

X. His DRUNKENNESS and INCONTINENCY: the firſt notorious; and the other ſhrewdly ſuſpected, by his taking the younger *Servilia*, a wanton Dame, to attend him during the Campaign in *Greece*, and long Journey to *Aſia*.

CATO's *Mind intenſely bent upon Buſineſs all day, left him Leiſure for Converſation and Literature only at Night. He had the moſt learned and virtuous Men of the Age in his Houſe, the famous Stoic*, Athenodore, *ſirnamed*, Cordylion, Apollonides *of the ſame Sect, and* Demetrius *the Peripatetic. With theſe he uſed to ſit late, immerſed in Philoſophy.* Memmius, *a Libertine, wanting to be on the ſame footing, ſaid*, that CATO *ſpent the whole Night over* his Bottle. *But you don't ſay, replied* Cicero, *that he paſſes the whole Day at* Cards.

The younger SERVILIA *was in the Bloom of Life married to* Lucullus, *well advanced in Years, and took more after her Siſter*, Silanus's *Wife, than her half Brother* M. Cato. *Upon his Friend's account* Lucullus *long bore with her Irregularities; but ſhe grew ſo wild and infamous, that he was, at laſt, obliged to give her up, and ſend her a Writ of Divorce. This Blow ſeems to have rouzed her out of the* gay Delirium, *in which a fine Woman, engaged in Intrigue, paſſes ſome part of her Life. She reformed; and behaved ſo regularly, as to make her Friends willing to forget her Failures, and, if poſſible, to cover the Blemiſhes of her former Conduct. The* civil War *broke out; when, to give an inconteſtible Proof of Amendment, ſhe took the hardy Reſolution of accompanying her rigid Brother beyond Sea, in a long and uncertain Voyage to the Army under* Pompey, *carrying along her little Son by* Lucullus. *The undertaking the Fatigue of ſuch an Expedition, and under ſo ſevere a Tutor, tended not a little to perſuade the World*, That her Repentance was ſincere: *But what contributed*

the Diſpoſal of the *Roman* Senate and People. The Letter TO THE CONSULS, was read in the Senate by PANSA, with ſuch an Encomium on *Brutus*, and ſo cordial an Approbation of his Conduct, as evinced the Truth of the Maxim, *That no Man envies another's Merit, who has any Confidence in his own.* The SENATE voted, 'That what Q. Cepio Brutus *had done, was for the* 'Good of the Republic; *and empowered him to command the Army* 'he had raiſed,—protect the Provinces, *and to levy what public* 'Money he ſhould find neceſſary for that Service.'

MEAN TIME the three ancient Senators of *Conſular*, that is, ſupreme Dignity, were travelling towards *Modena*, as faſt as the Depth of Winter would permit. The greateſt Man of the three, *Servius Sulpicius*, aged and infirm, had undertaken

buted to re-eſtabliſh her *Character*, Ceſar *improved to throw a Blot upon her* Guardians,—*and did not ſtick to ſay*, 'That CATO with all his pretended Severity was 'willing to take the Trouble of ſo fair and frail a Fellow-Traveller, for the Sake 'of her agreeable Converſation.' *But* Cato's *Virtue was ſecure; his whole Life gave the Lie to this Inſinuation. It was known, that, amidſt the greateſt Diſſoluteneſs of Morals, he had no Amour before Marriage; and that when Lord of* CYPRUS, *in the height of Life, where* Venus *literally reigns, he returned from his Command without having touched a Woman.*

THESE Pieces, *Cicero*'s Panegyric on CATO, and *Ceſar*'s ANTICATOS, the Productions of ſuch Pens, and on ſo intereſting a Subject, were greedily received by their Co-temporaries, and much read by Poſterity. But we may gather the Judgment paſſed upon them by *good Men*, from *Cicero*'s Anxiety to ſpread his Antagoniſt's Performance. It is true, even *Ceſar*'s Commendations were at that time too weighty, not to be highly agreeable to a Man fond of Fame: tho' it would ſeem that A. HIRTIUS, *Ceſar*'s Favourite, had, at his Deſire, drawn up a ſort of Libel againſt *Cato*, upon which Sketch the Dictator afterwards formed his ANTICATOS. Wherefore *Cicero* writes to his Friend *Atticus*, *Do you make* Hirtius's *Piece as public as poſſible: for I thought the very thing which you tell me has happened, That while our Friend's Genius was approved, the Purpoſe of his Performance, to blacken* CATO, *would appear ridiculous.* Qualis futura ſit CAESARIS vituperatio contra laudationem meam, perſpexi ex eo libro quem *Hirtius* ad me miſit, in quo colligit vitia *Catonis*, ſed cum maximis laudibus meis: itaque miſi librum ad *Muſeam* ut tuis librariis daret; volo enim eum divulgari. Lib. XII. Epiſt. 39. Tu vero pervulga HIRTIUM; id enim ipſum putaram quod ſcribis, ut cum ingenium amici noſtri probaretur, ὑπόθεσις vituperandi *Catonis* irrideretur. Ibid. Epiſt. 44.

dertaken the Embaſſy with much Reluctancy: he thought his Years, and eſpecially the viſible Symptoms of deep Indiſpoſition which he bore, would procure him Exemption: But the SENATE, thinking no other Man would have ſuch weight with *Antony*, would receive no Excuſe; and at the ſame time, the Conſul PANSA having ſaid ſome ſtronger things than *Servius* was accuſtomed to hear, he took his Son and *Cicero* aſide, and told them, *That he would loſe his Life rather than diſobey the Senate.* And ſo it indeed happened: for the good old Man, worn out with Age and Infirmities, and unable to bear ſuch Fatigue, expired within a day's Journey of *Antony*'s Camp. His Death left the Embaſſy maimed, and as it were, without a Head: he was a ſincere Friend to Liberty and ROME; a ſteady Magiſtrate, an upright Judge, and of ſuch ſuperior Capacity in explaining the *Law*, and reconciling it with *Equity*, that he might be compared with our *Coupers*, *Talbots* and *Hardwicks*. For he did not ſtudy *Forms* more than *Juſtice*; but by attending to the Spirit and Intention both of the *Statute* and *Civil Law*, he directed them to *Facility* in practice, and the *Eaſe* of the People. The ſounder Part of the Senate, then the Majority, looking upon him as a Martyr fallen in the Cauſe of Liberty, firſt decreed a public Funeral to him, and then his *Statue in Braſs* to be erected in the *Roſtra*, with a Space of five feet around it, to be enjoyed by his Heirs for ever, in order to perform Games or Sacrifices, about that Monument of their Anceſtor.

THE other two Commiſſioners *Philip* and *Piſo*, Men of no uncommon Spirit, and both connected with the *Ceſareans* *, being arrived in the Camp, delivered the Orders of the Senate to *Antony*; '*To raiſe the Siege of* Modena, *and forbear Hoſtilities* '*with* D. Brutus.' *To give* them *free acceſs to him in Town*

'—*to*

* PISO's Daughter *Calphurnia* was married to *Julius Ceſar*, and PHILIP was married to *Atia* his Niece.

—*to ceaſe from ravaging the Province of* Lombardy, *contain his Army beyond the* Rubicon *its Boundary; not approach nearer than two hundred miles to the* CITY, *and be with his Troops in the power of the* Roman Senate *and* People. *Antony* received the *ſenatorial* Commiſſioners with indifference, and heard their Orders with contempt:——he preſſed the Siege in their preſence, would not permit them to enter the Town, and deliver their honourable Meſſage to *D. Brutus* and to his Army; '*That* '*their Services to the Common-wealth were acceptable to the* Senate '*and* People, *and would redound both to their own* Honour *and* In-'tereſt.' Diſobedience to the reſt followed of courſe:—But as if he had been upon an equal footing with his Country, and had been to treat with his MASTERS as one State does with another, he delivered the Sum of his *Demands* to the Commiſſioners, who had the meanneſs to receive them from his hands, and bring them home as the Fruit of their Embaſſy. They were written in a rude overbearing Strain, and abundantly ſhewed both the foundation of his Confidence, and ground of his Fears. *I am content*, ſaid he, *to give up both Provinces:—I quit my Army, and do not refuſe to become a private Citizen.—I will even forget all that is paſt, and be ſincerely reconciled,——if you will aſſign* Lands *and* Booty *to the* ſix Legions *that are in my Camp, and to my* Cavalry, *and to my* Pretorian-Guard. *Beſides, let the Lands given by me and* Dolabella, *be poſſeſſed by thoſe to whom they were given; and the Deeds and Memorials ſubſcribed by the ſaid* Dolabella, *or by me, let them remain valid and effective. Let the Soldiers in my Army be indemnified for whatever they may have committed contrary to the Laws:* LOMBARDY *I give up, and demand the* FARTHER GAUL *with an Army annexed of* thirty thouſand Men, (*and that recruited out of the Troops of* Decimus Brutus,) *to be held by me ſo long as* M. BRUTUS *and* C. CASSIUS *are* Conſuls, Proconſuls, *or in Power, that is, for the Space of five Years.*

THE Inconſiſtency and Inſult of theſe Demands would tempt us to believe that they had been drawn up by *Antony* when he

was (in no unuſual plight) very drunk. He ſent one *L. Varius Cotyla*, a Pot-Companion of his own, and Creature of the late *Ceſar*, as his Envoy to the FATHERS, to ſee how they would be reliſhed, or rather as a Spy upon the Senate, and to bring him intelligence how matters went in *Rome* *. Time had been when any one of theſe Demands, made by a rebellious Citizen, would have raiſed the higheſt Indignation: and in ſuch like caſes, (when a hot-brained Leader had debauched the Legions, and was aiming at *illegal* Power) the Remedy was always from the SENATE. For ſuch was formerly the *Authority* of that auguſt Body, and ſuch the *Dignity* of its Members, that ONE of them, armed with a Decree of the FATHERS, was an Overmatch for a *Lepidus* or a *Catiline:* But after that *Ceſar*'s devouring Sword had cut off the beſt and greateſt Senators †, that once glorious Aſſembly retained but the Shadow of its wonted Authority. The Hinge of the unhappy State turned now upon the *Soldiery*; and the Man who had the greateſt number, and beſt trained of *theſe*, be his Cauſe or Character ever ſo bad, had ſo long the Command of the Common-wealth. The pernicious Example ſet by *Ceſar* had poiſoned his whole Party; his Officers were all debauched; taught to contemn the *Laws* and *Senate*, and to depend upon nothing but their *Captain* and their *Sword*. Wherefore the ſurviving *Commiſſioners* expreſſed no great Wrath at the inſolent Demands they brought from *Antony*; nor did the *Fathers* receive them with the Marks of Diſdain they deſerved. How melancholly the Change! from being the Principle of *Life* and *Action*, that uſed to animate the Republic, and

* Hic heſterno die, ſententias noſtras in *codicillos*, et omnia verba referebat. PHILIP. VIII.

† Illos ego praeſtantiſſimos viros vivere volebam, tot CONSULARES, tot PRAETORIOS, tot honeſtiſſimos SENATORES, omnem praeterea FLOREM NOBILITATIS, ac JUVENTUTIS; tum optimorum civium EXERCITUS;——qui ſi viverent REMP. hodie teneremus. PHILIP. II.

and govern the World, to ſit ſtill, as it were *paſſive*, and tamely permit the *Leaders* of the ſeveral Bodies of Troops to command and uſe them as *their own*, without interpoſing the public Authority, or exerting the Power of the State. But M. CICERO, the oldeſt Conſular, after *Servius Sulpicius*'s Death, rouzed their drooping Spirits, awaked a Senſe of Honour, and inflamed them with a *Roman* Paſſion, the Love of Liberty *. They vouchſafed no Anſwer to their Rebel-ſubject; but paſſed 'an Act of Indemnity to ſuch of his Followers as ſhould re-'turn to their Obedience, and ſurrender themſelves to either of 'the *Conſuls*, or to the young *Ceſar*, before the *Ides of March*, '(that day twelve Months that *Tyranny* was aboliſhed). And for 'their Encouragement to do *more* than deſert *Antony*, they em-'powered the *Conſuls*, in caſe any of them *did a remarkable Ser-'vice to the State*, to prepare and bring a Bill into the Senate 'for rewarding their Deſert. But added, that whoſoever ſhould 'now join *M. Antony*, or go to his Camp, (except *L. Varius* '*Cotyla*) the SENATE would hold him an Enemy to the Com-'mon-wealth.'

HERE I am obliged to put every man of candour on his guard, againſt the Malevolence and Falſhood of the *later* Writers of the *Roman Hiſtory*, particularly of the two *Greeks* of the low Empire, (lower in their Minds than in Time) *Appian* the *Alexandrian*, and *Dion Caſſius*. As they *lived* SLAVES, and had no Reliſh, nor indeed *Comprehenſion* of the exalted Virtue of a free People †, partly to flatter the *Ceſarean Succeſſors*, and partly through envy and ſpite, they invented palpable Fal-

 ſhoods

* Aliae nationes ſervitutem pati poſſunt. POPULI ROM. propria eſt LIBERTAS. PHILIP. II.

† Αἴτιοι δὲ τῶν κακῶν τούτων, οἱ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΑΙ ἐγένοντο: δέον γὲ αὐτὲς ΕΝΑ τινὰ προσήσασθαι, καὶ ἐκείνῳ διαπαντος συνάιρεσθαι, οὐκ ἐποίησαν. ΔΙΩΝ. βιϐ. μς. i. e. *The* SENATE *ought to have renounced their Liberty, and created ſome* ONE *Man their Maſter:* **A Sentiment only worthy of a SLAVE.**

ſhoods to *leſſen* the Friends of Liberty, and *defame* the Father of *Roman* Learning. *Appian* groſsly affirms, that M. CICERO being entruſted by the SENATE with writing out their Inſtructions to their Commiſſioners to *Antony*, betrayed his Truſt, and falſified the *Senate*'s Orders, to embroil his Country in War *.

IT is a fooliſh incoherent Calumny: every Senator knew the Purport of the Inſtructions; they were to be *publickly* delivered; CICERO had himſelf repeated them in the *full Forum*, to an Aſſembly of the People †. Had they been falſified, with what a Recoil muſt ſuch a Forgery have come upon him at the Return of the Commiſſioners? And how *mean* muſt he have appeared both to the Senate and People? Whereas they both continued to revere him as their *Guardian*, and truſt him as the *Pilot* of the State, while *Rome* enjoyed her Liberty.

FOR the ſame purpoſes that ſame Author, *Appian*, has put a fictitious and abſurd Harangue in the mouth of old *Piſo*, in anſwer to *Cicero*; as *Dion* has another ſtill more triffling and ſcurrilous ‡, which he utters in the Perſon of his Puppet *Fufius Calenus*. Theſe Harangues are preceeded by two of their *own* rare Productions, fathered upon TULLY, which, when compared with the genuine Speeches of that great Patriot ſtill extant, appear to be either *mangled* or *ſuppoſititious*; while the Anſwers ſeem to have been compoſed to ſhew ſuperior Talents, and how eaſily *theſe Authors* could have outſhone the *Roman* Orator. But no Party-libel againſt a Miniſter long in Power, no *Craftſman* or *Examiner*, ever accumulated more Scandal than that Enemy to Worth and Friend to Prodigies, DION CASSIUS, has raked together, againſt the Ornament of his Age

* Κικέρων τὴν γνώμην τ̃ βουλ̃ης παραφέρων——οὕτω φιλονείκως τε κ̀ ψευδ̃ως τὰς ἐντολὰς συνέγραφε. ΕΜΦΤΛ. βιϐ. γ.

† PHILIPPICA VI.

‡ Τα̃υθ' οὕτως, ὦ Κικέρων, ἢ Κικέρωλε, ἢ Κικεράκιε, ἢ Κικερίδε, ἢ Γραικύλε, ἢ ὅ τι ποτέ κ̀ χαίρεις ὀνομαζομένος &c. βιϐ. μς.

Age and Country, TULLIUS CICERO. A *national* Prejudice, with a good daſh of Envy, inſtigated the *Greeks* againſt the greateſt Scholar of *Rome*, (Paſſions from which *Plutarch* himſelf ſeems not to have been wholly exempted) while a hidden artfull Flattery to *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* empoiſons the Pens of VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, and VALERIUS MAXIMUS; and only leaves us *Cicero*'s LETTERS, *Livy*'s EPITOME, and the Work of *Hadrian*'s exact and impartial Secretary *Suetonius Tranquillus*, as the Sources of hiſtoric Truth: to which may be added the Shreds of *private* Hiſtory, and particular Characters ſcattered up and down SENECA's Writings, or thoſe of JOSEPHUS, where the *Jewiſh* are connected with *Roman* Affairs. Theſe are the Authors fit to be conſulted by Lovers of Liberty and Truth, while the Court Flatterers, *Appian* and *Dion*, are to be left to be exſcribed by the *French* and *Italian* Sycophants. *

To return to *Modena*. The ſending Commiſſioners to *Antony* had ſlackened the military Operations of the *three Generals* againſt him. For by the ſame Decree that armed the Conſuls, the *Senate* had authoriſed the *young Ceſar* to command the Army he had raiſed, and veſted him with the Power of *Pro-pretor*. He had before no *public* Character, and becauſe of his Youth was capable of no Magiſtracy but a *Prieſthood*. This his Grand-uncle *Julius* had beſtowed upon him, in the ſame way as the *moſt Chriſtian King* gives an *Abbacy* to an Infant, or the *Pope* creates ſome Royal *Babe* a *Cardinal*. But the grand Service he had done, in checking *Antony*'s Violence, and protecting the City from his Fury at his Return from *Brindiſi*, made him both appear

* APOLOGIA di GIULIO CESARE primo Imperatore di *Roma*, ingiuſtamente da i POMPEIANI *nemico* della patria e *tiranno* appellato; mà della patria clementiſſimo *Padre* e della Romana republica *giuſto* e *legittimo* prencipe.
D'ALESSANDRO GUARINO.

A Book written to confute M. CATO, TULLIUS CICERO, TITUS LIVIUS, SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, *and all the approved Authors of* Roman *Hiſtory, upon the* Authority *of* APPIAN *and* DION.

pear worthy of that Command, and of being admitted a *Senator*, of the Privilege of ſtanding for Offices ſooner than his Years permitted,—and of the Honour of an *Equeſtrian Statue* erected for him in the *Forum*. Theſe Honours were cordially beſtowed by the SENATE, as they were ſeverally propoſed; the *Command* and Admiſſion into the *Senate* by CICERO, the *Privilege* by SERVIUS SULPICIUS, and the *Statue* by the Youth's Father-in-law L. PHILIP, the Men beſt affected to the true Intereſts of *Rome*.

BUT as he was no Match for *Antony* alone, nor able to force him to raiſe the Siege of *Modena*, he took poſſeſſion of *Imola*, where he wintered, while *Parma*, *Quaderna*, *Bologna*, *Reggio*, and the *Modeneſe*, were occupied by *Antony*'s Garriſons. But the Decree of the *Senate*, '*That* one *or* both CONSULS *ſhould go* '*againſt the Invader of Gaul*,' made HIRTIUS forget his Indiſpoſition, and, tho' pale and much extenuated, marched towards *Gaul* about *Mid-January*. No ſooner were they joined than they entered upon Action, and began to ſtraiten *Antony*'s Quarters, and aſſault his Out-poſts. HIRTIUS attacked *Quaderna*, drove out the Garriſon, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Place: But the Winter did not yet permit them to keep the Field, nor their Numbers to puſh the War. But *Decimus Brutus* always alert, was told there were ſome Emiſſaries from *Antony* got into the Town, and endeavouring to debauch his Troops. He fell upon a ſhort method of Diſcovery. Having called the *Citizens* and *Soldiers* promiſcuouſly into the *Forum*, he made ſuch a Speech as was proper, and then ſuddenly commanded the *military Men* to retire to one Side of the Market-place, and the *Citizens* to the other. The unexpected Order confounded *the Spies*; and while they heſitated which Side to take, they were left alone, and inſtantly apprehended. Fraud failing, *Antony* had recourſe to Force; puſhed on his Works, and compleated the Circumvallation, ſuch as he had ſeen his Maſter draw round *Aleſia* in *Burgundy*: *Decimus* was ſtraitly then beſieged; Proviſions began

began to fail; and HIRTIUS apprehenſive of his being too ſoon driven to treat, wanted to give him Intelligence of the united Army come to his Relief. At firſt he lighted Fires from the Tops of the higheſt Trees.—But no counter-Sign being returned, he bethought himſelf of writing on a thin Plate of Lead, and giving it to a Diver, to be carried under the Water of the River *Secchia*, that runs thro' *Modena*. The Device ſucceeded for ſome time; but being at laſt ſuſpected, *Antony* had Nets drawn acroſs the River, to intercept the *watery* Conveyance. However the Siege provi g tedious, thro' the brave Defence and obſtinate Attack, they had recourſe to the AIR, and *Hirtius* bound Letters with a Hair about the Neck of a Dove, come from *Modena* to feed, who carried them back again over *Antony*'s Lines into the Town *. But tho' they were thus exerting their utmoſt military Skill againſt one another, yet their long Intimacy in *Ceſar*'s Service made *Antony* imagine it poſſible to awake the old *Party-zeal* in *Hirtius* and the *young Ceſar*, and thereby detach them from the Intereſts of *Liberty* and the *Common-weal*. He therefore wrote the following Letter to them, which diſguiſes his real Intentions, of *oppreſſing and plundering his Country*, and puts his Rebellion upon the Foot of *Reſiſtance* to a FACTION.

BUT before I inſert the Letter, it muſt be previouſly told, that the News of *Dolabella*'s Invaſion of *Aſia*, and the deplorable End of the brave TREBONIUS had lately reached *Rome*, and filled it with Horror and Indignation.—Even *Fufius Calenus*, the inveterate *Ceſarean*, when the Senate met on that bloody Buſineſs, was the firſt Man who propoſed to attaint *Dolabella*, and declare

* *This Account is given by* Frontinus, (STRATAGEM, Lib. III.) *and is indeed plauſible*; PLINY, *an Author of better Credit, ſays it was the* Keſtrell, (*a baſtard kind of Hawk*) *which not* HIRTIUS, *but* DECIMUS BRUTUS *employed as his Meſſenger.* Quin et internuntiae in rebus magnis fuere *Tinnunculi*, epiſtolas annexas earum pedibus, in caſtra conſulum obſidione Mutinenſi, *Decimo Bruto* mittente.
PLIN. Lib. X. § 37. *Both may be true.*

declare him an *Enemy to his Country*. He was voted *ſuch* unanimouſly, as one who had violated all Laws, human and divine, and polluted himſelf with the moſt horrid and abominable Crimes. Yet no Man of common Sagacity doubted, but that atrocious Cruelty was committed by him *in concert* with ANTONY, who was making the utmoſt Efforts to have DECIMUS BRUTUS in his Power, to ſerve him in the ſame inhuman manner; as plainly appeared by the Letter he wrote from his Camp in the following Cavalier-Strain.

ANTONY TO HIRTIUS AND CESAR *.

THE News of the Death of C. Trebonius *gave me not more Pleaſure than it did Pain: For tho' I rejoiced in that Malefactor's having fallen, as an Expiation to the Aſhes of an illuſtrious Man, and that the divine Providence had appeared within the Term of the current Year, in taking or threatening Vengeance on the Parricide; yet that* Dolabella *ſhould at ſuch a ſeaſon be voted an* ENEMY, *becauſe he put an* Aſſaſſin *to death, and that the Son of a Buffoon* † *ſhould appear to have been dearer to the* PEOPLE *of* ROME *than* C. Ceſar, *the* Father of his Country, *is indeed deplorable. But the bittereſt Reflexion of all is, that* you HIRTIUS! *loaded with* Ceſar's *Favours, and raiſed by him to a Height that aſtoniſhes yourſelf; and* you, STRIPLING! *who owe your all to his* Name, *ſhould abet* Dolabella's *Condemnation,—ſhould aim at relieving the* Villain *I am beſieging, and endeavour to throw all Power into* Caſſius *and* Brutus's *Hands! You look, to be ſure, upon theſe Doings as ſome People did upon the late Tranſactions:* Pompey's

* *He gives them no* Titles, *which might infer an Acknowledgment of the Senate's power, and therefore takes none to himſelf.*

† *He was the Son of a* Roman Knight, *of a fair Character and good Eſtate.*

Pompey's *Camp you call the* SENATE *; —*you obey the *vanquiſhed* CICERO *as your General*; — Macedon *you are ſtrengthening with Armies,—have given* Afric *to* Varus *twice a Captive*; Caſſius *you have ſent into* Syria,—*ſuffered* C. Caſca *to be Tribune,—deprived* Ceſar's *Prieſts of their Salaries,—aboliſhed the Colonies of the* Veterans, *led out by Law and a Decree of the Senate,——engaged to reſtore the* Marſeillians *to what they loſt in fair War,—ſuperſeded* Hirtius's *own Law, incapacitating a* Pompeian *to bear Office in the State.—You have ſupplied* BRUTUS *with* Apuleius's *Money,—have approved of ſtriking off* Paetus *and* Menedemus *their Heads, tho' made free of the City and Clients of* Ceſar.—*You have overlooked* Theopompus *being expelled by* TREBONIUS, *and forced to fly ſtript of every thing to* Alexandria ;—*you daily ſee* Sergius Galba *in your Camp, girt with the Dagger that ſtabbed* Ceſar ; —*you have enliſted* my Soldiers *or other* Veterans, *as if to deſtroy* Ceſar's *Murderers*; *and then led them unawares againſt their* Queſtor, General *and* Fellow-Soldiers. *In ſhort, what have you not done, or approved of doing, which*---CN. POMPEY *himſelf would do, were he in Life, or his Son* SEXTUS, *were he at home? ..... After all, you will liſten to no Conditions of Peace, unleſs I either permit* D. Brutus *to march out, or ſupply him with Proviſions.—Say you ſo? Is that the Opinion of thoſe Veterans who are yet unengaged? As for* YOU, *you have ſold yourſelves to the poiſoned Flattery, and enſnaring Honours of the Senate. But, ſay you,* 'we want to ſave the Soldiers ſhut 'up in the Town:' *That I don't oppoſe; let them be ſaved, and go whither ſoever they pleaſe; provided they abandon their Leader, and give* him *up to Deſtruction who has deſerved it. You write, that mention has been made in the* SENATE *of a* Treaty, *and that* five Conſulars *are named Commiſſioners. It is ſcarcely credible that*

* *In* POMPEY the Great's *Camp were ten Conſulars, many Men of* Pretorian *Dignity, honoured by the Preſence of* M. CATO ; and in effect the *real Senate. In* Antony's *Camp, he himſelf was the only Conſular, and had ſome few* Senators *like* himſelf, *whoſe* Names moved Laughter or Indignation. His real Strength lay in the *Julian* brawny Centurions, *Saxo, Capho, Tiro, Muſtela, Laco,* and ſuch like.

thoſe who have driven * *me to this paſs, while offering the faireſt Terms of Peace* †, *and even willing to abate ſome part of them, ſhould be capable of acting with humanity or moderation: Nor is it probable that the Men who have voted* Dolabella *an Enemy for a* moſt juſt Action, *ſhould incline to ſpare me,* who have the ſame Sentiments with him.——*Wherefore do you two rather conſider, whether it be prettier* ‡, *and more for the Good of the* PARTY, *to avenge the Death of* Trebonius *or of* Ceſar? *and whether it be better that we cut down one another, to raiſe the* Pompeian *Cauſe ſo often baffled to its former Vigour; or agree among ourſelves, that we may not become the Scoff of our Enemies; who, which ſoever of us fall, are ſure to be the Gainers? A Spectacle which* Fortune herſelf *has as yet prevented, that ſhe might not behold* Soldiers *of the ſame Corps deſtroying one another, while* CICERO *ſtands* Maſter-Gladiator, *and urges the Combat; ſo far happy, at leaſt, that he has been able to catch you with the ſame fallacious Honours, by which he makes his boaſt of having deceived the late* Ceſar. *As for me, I am firmly reſolved not to bear any Indignity done to myſelf, or to my Friends,—nor to forſake* that Party *which* POMPEY *hated,—nor ſuffer the* Veterans *to be driven out of their aſſigned Seats,—nor to be dragged one by one to the Rack,—nor to falſify my Faith plighted to* Dolabella,—*nor violate my Confederacy with the pioueſt of* ** *Men* M. Lepidus,—*nor yet betray* Plancus *the Partner of all my Deſigns. Wherefore, if it pleaſe the immortal Gods to proſper me in the proſecution of theſe* found Sentiments ††, (*as I hope they will*) *I ſhall live with pleaſure. But if another Deſtiny*

* His Ambition, Riot, Rapacity, and conſequent Crimes, were his only *Drivers.*

† See backwards, Page 313.

‡ *It ſounds ſtill more oddly in the Original*; utrum ſit elegantius. ANTONY *drank and fought better than he* ſpoke or wrote.

** Piouſeſt *is no more uſed in good* Engliſh, *than* piiſſimus *in good* Latin.

†† Quod ſi me *rectis ſenſibus* euntem DII immortales, ut ſpero, adjuverint.

Deſtiny awaits me, I yet fore-taſte a Joy in the certain Proſpect of your future Puniſhment; for if the POMPEIANS *are ſo inſolent when* vanquiſhed, *may it be rather your Fate than mine to prove what they will be when* Victors. *In a word, my laſt Reſolution lands in this,* that I could bear with the *Wrongs* done to *me* and *mine, if they would either* forget that they had done them, *or* would join with us in avenging *Ceſar*'s Death. *As for your Commiſſioners, I don't believe they will come: till then nought but War: if they do, I ſhall hear their Demands.*

HIRTIUS the *Conſul,* inſtead of anſwering the Letter, ſent it directly to CICERO, who read it in the Senate, as an Evidence of what they muſt expect from the new Chief of the *Ceſareans,* if he came off Conqueror. It was very true, that *Piſo* and *Calenus, Antony*'s Friends, had induced the Fathers, by falſe Repreſentations of his good Diſpoſition, and the ſorrowful plight in which they found his Family *, to think of a ſecond Embaſſy: But upon riper Thoughts they gave it up, and ſaw it had only been a Fetch to gain Time; when *Decimus Brutus* was thought to be reduced to Extremities, and that every Day would bring the News of his treating, or of the Town being taken by Aſſault. In lieu therefore of a new Embaſſy, the brave and ſteady C. VIBIUS PANSA, after abrogating *Antony*' factious Laws, and voiding his forged Grants, marched out of *Rome* at the Head of four new raiſed Legions, (twenty ſix thouſand Men) moſtly Volunteers, the Flower of *Italy,* who enliſted eagerly to ſerve a Cauſe, on which depended their Liberties, and every thing dear to Men. Such a Force joined to *Hirtius* and the *young Ceſar*'s, was far ſuperior to *Antony*'s in numbers.—But the greater Part of *his* Troops were hardy rapacious Veterans, that make the Nerve of an Army, and the Bane of a State.

* Attendiſtis paullo ante, praeſtantiſſimi viri (L. PISONIS) quae eſſet oratio; *Maeſtam* inquit, *domum offendi, conjugem, liberos* - - - - PHILIPPIC. XII.

UPON the News of the other CONSUL's Approach, *Antony* thought to ſurpriſe him, and deſtroy the raw Body of Men under his Command: early upon the fourteenth of *April*, he led out *two veteran Legions*, and *two Pretorian Cohorts*, (two Regiments of Guards), his *own* and *Silanus*'s, with a Part of the oldeſt Soldiers recalled to their Standards *, and marched towards *Bologna* to intercept PANSA, who he thought had only the *four Legions of Recruits*. The *Modeneſe* is a low flat Country, full of Marſhes. As the high Road to *Gaul* and *Spain* led thro' it, the *Romans* had raiſed a *grand military Way*, (the *Emilian*) that like the *Dutch Dykes*, was higher than the Fields on either ſide, which were overgrown with Reeds. Among theſe, and behind the Village *Caſtelfranco*, ANTONY hid the heavy armed Legions, ſhewing only his Dragoons, and ſome light armed Foot. But HIRTIUS, an experienced Officer, ſuſpecting the very thing that happened, detached the *Martian* Legion, of which *Sergius Galba* was Tribune, and both his *own* and *Ceſar*'s *Pretorian Guards*, to eſcort his Collegue to his Camp. This great Detachment marched all Night, and joined the CONSUL unknown to *Antony*. The *Martian Legion*, and the *young Ceſar*'s Guards were *the very Men* who, after the Murder of their *Centurions*, had abandoned *Antony* at *Brindiſi*, and looked on thoſe who ſtaid as daſtardly Traitors. *They*, on the other hand, looked on *them* as perfidious Deſerters of their General. In this temper the *Martians* no ſooner ſpy'd *Antony*'s Horſemen croſſing their way, than their Fury kindled; they turned deaf to Orders, and ruſhed impetuous thro' a Paſs between the Moraſs and a Wood to attack them. PANSA, the Conſul, unable to reſtrain them, left two of his Legions to guard his Camp, under his Queſtor *Torquatus*, and ordered the other two to follow him, and ſupport the *Martians*. At this *Antony* inſtantly drew out his Legions from the Village, and from among the Reeds,

* Partem EVOCATORUM.

Reeds, when the moſt furious Conflict began that had been ſeen during the civil War. No military Shout, no Threats, no Tumult preceeded the Onſet; but intenſe Revenge, fierce Silence, and firm Order ruled the terrible Encounter. The Craſh of Weapons and dying Groans was the only Noiſe between Files of Men of equal Strength and Skill, animated by the ſame Paſſions, and engaged on Ground that allowed no Retreat. On the *Conſul*'s Right, eight Cohorts (3400 Men) of the *Martians*, with GALBA at their Head, drove the Enemy about an hundred paces off their Ground, and following their Blow too eagerly, were in hazard of being ſurrounded by ANTONY's *Mooriſh* Horſe. But on the left, CESAR's *Pretorians*, and two *Martian* Cohorts being attacked in front by the Legion, and in flank by the Dragoons, began to give way; when the CONSUL advancing with the new levied Legions, renewed a bloody Struggle, and poiſed the Scale of Victory. But while with the greateſt Gallantry he was acting the Soldier, as well as the General, he received two fatal Wounds with a Javelin in his Side, which obliged him to be carried off the Field to *Bologna*, and his Army to retreat in order to their Camp. ANTONY remaining Maſter of the Field of Battle, ſuperior in numbers, and eſpecially in Cavalry, inſtantly ordered his two Legions to march and attack *Panſa*'s Camp. But was beaten off not without ſlaughter of his beſt Men, and forced to retire towards *Caſtelfranco*, where the Engagement had begun. Few bloodier Bouts than this had paſſed between *Roman* Armies. *Antony*'s *thirty fifth* Legion had ſuffered extremely; nor was the other (the *ſecond*) little maltreated at the fruitleſs Attack of the Camp. On the other ſide, *two Cohorts* of the *Martians* were cut to pieces; of *Ceſar*'s Pretorians very few eſcaped *, and of theſe few, ſcarce a Man, came off without Wounds.

BUT

* Ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ ἡ τραπηγὶς τοῦ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ἅπασα. APPIAN. Bic. γ.

BUT HIRTIUS being quickly informed of what was paſſing between his Collegue and *Antony*, would not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity; but with eager celerity drew out his Forces, to get if poſſible between *Antony* and his fortified Camp, and engage a ſhattered Army with a freſh one. He partly obtained his purpoſe; but could not prevent *another Legion* joining him from *Modena:* However, nothing daunted, at the head of the FOURTH, and of the young *Ceſar*'s veteran SEVENTH, (whom he left with only *four Cohorts* to guard his Camp) without any Cavalry, he reached *Caſtelfranco* before *Antony* arrived. And now appeared the ſuperior Spirit of this CONSUL; for knowing the deſperate Service he was going upon, (encountering three Legions flanked with Horſe, with two Legions unſupported,) and being reſolved to conquer or fall in the cauſe, he took the EAGLE of the FOURTH LEGION out of the Standard-bearer's hand, and ſhewed that veteran Body a fight they greatly admired, *the* GENERAL *leading on the Legion in perſon, and expoſing himſelf to the Brunt of the Battle* *. The Encounter was fierce and deſperate, as between Veterans mutually incenſed, and fluſhed with Blood; but ſuch was the Violence with which *Hirtius* and his Men came ruſhing on the *Antonians*, that after a ſtout Reſiſtance, partly wounded, partly weary, they were no longer able to ſtand the Shock; and the ſhattered part involving the ſound, they were at once overborn by main force, ſome Companies troden down and trampled under foot; and ſo rapid and general was the Execution, that the victorious Army ſcarce loſt a Man †. And *Antony* having ſeen three of his beſt Legions deſtroyed in one day, was forced to fly with the broken Remains of his Cavalry to his Camp at *Modena*, where he arrived about ten at night.

THE

* Viginti cohortibus, nullo equitatu, HIRTIUS ipſe, aquilam quartae legionis cum inferret (quâ nullius *pulcriorem ſpeciem* Imperatoris accepimus) cum tribus *Antonii* legionibus equitatuque conflixit. PHILIPPIC. XIV.

† QUARTA (legio) victrix, deſiderat neminem. Ibid.

THE Vicinity of the Camps making Intelligence fly, that ſame very day a Body of *Antony*'s Men, being informed of the March of *Hirtius*, and thinking his Camp, weakly guarded would be an eaſy Prey, marched from *Modena*, and gave a furious Aſſault. They were received with great Bravery by the *young Ceſar*, who ſuſtained the Attack with a few Cohorts, and beat them off without Loſs of his Garriſon. For a *Roman* Camp was fortified like a Town, and the ſtorming it was like filling a Ditch and ſcaling a Wall. As this was the firſt time which the Youth had been in Action, (for it is uncertain whether he was at the Battle of *Munda* in *Spain*) or at leaſt, where he *commanded*, his Behaviour gained him great honour. It is true, *M. Antony* (then, and afterwards his Enemy) gave it out that he could not ſtand the approaching Attack, but ran terrified away, and did not appear for two days thereafter, when he was found without his Horſe or Pretorian Robe *: But the Conſul *Hirtius*'s plain Teſtimony in the Youth's favour, wipes off that Imputation of Cowardice. †

Two days before the News of theſe Battles reached *Rome*, a kind of Pannic had ſeized the City. Surmiſes had been for ſome time induſtriouſly ſpread, 'that *D. Brutus* was at the laſt 'Extremity, (as indeed he was) and that *neither the two* Con-'ſuls, *nor the young* Ceſar *were ſuch Enemies to* Antony *as they* 'gave out; *but matters would be ſo managed that* Modena *would* 'ſurely be taken, *and old Friends would come to a better Underſtand-*'ing.' But now a Report prevailed, that *Antony* having gained a ſudden and compleat Victory, was in full March towards *Rome*. It gave a mortal Damp to all good Men. Hurry and Confuſion immediately filled the Streets, and Sorrow ſat on every Countenance; while no Man could look on his Wife and Children,

* SUETON. Octavius. § 10.

† Hic adoleſcens (CAESAR) maximi animi, ut veriſſimè ſcribit HIRTIUS, caſtra multarum legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus eſt, ſecundumque praelium fecit.

dren, and think of their being expoſed to the Outrage of the *veteran Cut-throats*, without melting into Tears. All the better ſort were preparing to abandon their Country, and tranſport themſelves and their Families beyond Sea, to M. BRUTUS's Camp, or to the Provinces under his protection. Along with this Report, *Antony*'s Friends, *Fufius Calenus*, *Servilius* and *Piſo*, had maliciouſly propagated a Suſpicion that CICERO, whoſe Virtue and Capacity had ſet him at the helm in a free State, would in a few days appear with his *Lictors* and *Faſces*, declare himſelf *Dictator*, and uſurp the ſupreme Power. The Story, tho' utterly improbable, was with equal cunning and wickedneſs contrived to ſerve a very black Purpoſe. The old *Ceſarean*, and now *Antonian* Gang, hearing of their Leader's Proſperity, uſed every night to caball about the Place where their former Patron *Julius* had met with the Reward of his Crimes; there they concerted, which of them, upon *Antony*'s Approach, ſhould ſeize upon the *Capitol*,—who ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the *Forum*,—who ſhould plant themſelves at the ſeveral *Gates* of the City,—that having *Rome* in their power, they might do with the *Senate* what they pleaſed. But as they made no doubt, upon the firſt Emotion, that the great Concourſe of the Citizens would be to CICERO's Houſe, they firſt propagated the Story of his *intended Uſurpation*, and had ſome mock-*Lictors* ready to appear with *Faſces* at his Entry, at the ſight of whom they were all to roar out *the Tyrant! the Tyrant!* ruſh upon him with a Band of Ruffians, and put him *firſt* to death.

To free this Patriot from the Load of ſo baſe and invidious a Calumny, *P. Apuleius* his conſtant Friend and Confident ever ſince his Conſulſhip, being then Tribune of the People, called an Aſſembly to the *Forum*; where making a Speech in defence of TULLY, and unmaſking the malicious Fiction of his Uſurpation, the whole Meeting with one voice did juſtice to eminent Merit, and bore the glorious Teſtimony; *That* M. T. CICERO *had never entertained a Thought that was contrary to the Intereſt*

Intereſt of the Commonwealth. But what crowned the day to *Cicero*, and made him think himſelf overpaid for all the Labours, Pains, and Sufferings he had undergone for his Country, was, that two or three hours after this honourable Teſtimony from the *Roman* People, the Courier arrived with *laurelled Letters* from the CONSULS to the SENATE, bringing an account of their ſeveral Engagements and final Victory. When the News were publiſhed, and had reached the Minds of Men overwhelmed with Gloom, and expecting the very worſt, the Reverſe was too ſtrong to be born with moderation:—a Frenzy of Joy ſeized the City, and their Rejoicings were next to Madneſs: In a very ſhort ſpace, the *Senate*, *Knights* and *Commons*, gathered about *Cicero*'s Houſe, and with loud and uninterrupted Acclamations conducted the great Stateſman to the *Capitol*, to give thanks to the *tutelar Gods* of ROME; and then placed him on the *Roſtra*. He attempted to ſpeak,—but in vain: the raviſhing Thought of their *recovered Liberty*, the Senſe of the *Worth*, *Talents*, and *high Deſert* of the PATRIOT, put them out of condition to liſten in ſilence. Shout after Shout expreſſed their Paſſion, and gave the good Man the pureſt, and moſt ſoul-ſatiſfying Pleaſure he had ever taſted in his life. For to be *popular* and *ſucceſsfull* in a *ſalutary Cauſe*, and to merit the united Applauſe of an Empire, muſt have highly delighted a Man leſs ſenſible to Praiſe than *Tullius Cicero*. With the ſame Shoutings and Ecſtaſy they reconducted him to his houſe, as the FATHER, and a *ſecond* time the SAVIOUR of his Country; and then ran in multitudes about all the Shrines of the Gods, to give thanks for their unſpeakable Deliverance.

THE Letters from the Generals, giving an account of this compleat Victory, were very variouſly heard in the Senate. *Fufius Calenus*, had on a late occaſion compoſed and brought into the Meeting a *Formula* of Approbation of *M. Brutus*'s public

Letter, *that it ſeemed to be* well *and* regularly *written* *, as if he would have applauded his Under-ſecretary: But he meant to ſlur over *Brutus*'s Fame, and elude the Senate's direct Ratification of his Services, or farther enlarging his Power: In imitation of that ſame Malignant *P. Servilius*, deeply mortified by the defeat of *Antony*, was forced ſo far to diſſemble, as to vote for a *Supplication* or ſolemn Thankſgiving to the Gods, for the *Conſul's Victory*; but being obliged to mention over *whom*, he choſe to phraſe it, *over roguiſh and preſumptuous Citizens* †. His Malevolence ſignified little, while there was ſuch a Man in the Aſſembly as *Cicero*, to unveil and expoſe it: wherefore, in the ſame manner as *Brutus*'s taking poſſeſſion of *Macedon*, and the Command of the Forces thereto belonging, was *juſtly* ‡ approved and ratified by the *Senate*, *Marc Antony* and all who had followed his Party, were now voted ENEMIES to the *Commonwealth*; and the three Generals who had defeated them were ſaluted *Imperatores*, (Commanders in chief) firſt by their own Soldiers, and then by the

* Ita enim dixiſti, et quidem de *ſcripto*; LITERAS BRUTI RECTE ET ORDINE SCRIPTAS VIDERI: quod, quid eſt aliud quam *librarium* BRUTI laudare, non Brutum? — quod verbum tibi non excidit, ut ſaepe fit, *fortuito*: *ſcriptum meditatum, cogitatum attuliſti.* PHILIPPIC. X.

† DE IMPROBIS ET AUDACIBUS, nam ſic eos appellat vir clariſſimus, (*P. Servilius*) quae ſunt urbanarum maledicta litium, non *inuſtae* belli internecini *Notae*. The *Vir clariſſimus* anſwers to our, *The noble Lord*, in the Houſe of Peers, or *the honourable Member who ſpoke laſt*, in the Houſe of Commons, made frequently uſe of by thoſe who contemn and oppoſe them. Ibid. XIV.

‡ It is true, that *M. Brutus* was named to *Macedon*, and *Caſſius* to *Syria* by *Julius Ceſar*, who had no legal Power ſo to do: But that Nomination had been *ratified* by the *Senate* when it was *free* by his Death, which rendered it regular and valid. *M. Antony* afterwards by armed Force obtruded a Vote upon the PEOPLE, transferring it to his Brother *Caius*, which was no more binding than *Julius*'s Nominations. *Violence* in any Shape is the Diſſolution of all Law; and leaves *free born* Men at Liberty to do themſelves *right*, and reſtore the *legal Conſtitution* by all the Methods in their Power, without regarding the *mock Forms* of State ſubſtituted in place of *lawful* Government.

the *Supreme Authority:* ſo groundleſs are the Suggeſtions of the *Ceſarean* Writers, that the *Senate* in honouring the other Leaders took no notice of the *young Ceſar*. But farther to animate the victorious Troops, they voted a ſtately *Monument* of ſquare Stone to be erected by the *Conſuls*, to the Memory of the brave Men of the *Martian* and *other* Legions, who were killed in the Action, with an Inſcription deeply engraved, *That it was ſacred to thoſe who had ſpilt their Blood in defence of the* Roman Liberty: as alſo, that the *Premium* or *Donative* promiſed to theſe Legions, upon the Recovery and Eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth, ſhould be paid out of the public Treaſury to the *Parents*, *Children*, *Wives* or *Brothers* of the Soldiers who had fallen in that Battle, in the ſame manner as if they themſelves had been ſtill alive.

THE unhappy Country about *Modena* began now to have ſome little reſpite from the Ravages of ſo many Armies, both as they were cloſer drawn together, and as the chief Actors of theſe Violences had received ſo effectual a Check. A little before this, *T. Plancus*, a Captain of *Antony*'s light Horſe, (we would call them *Huſſars*) was met by the reſolute *Pontius Aquila* *, and after a ſmart Engagement, put to flight, and diſabled from moleſting their allied Cities for the future. For the nearer *Gaul* or *Lombardy* being filled with *Colonies*, and the Country full of *Roman Inhabitants*, was in a manner incorporated with *Italy*, and the People breathing the ſame Spirit, were keen in the Intereſts of Liberty. They had raiſed Men and Money for *Decimus Brutus* and the *Conſuls*, to the utmoſt of

* This explains a Sarcaſm in the XIII. PHILIPPIC, not commonly underſtood. Illud verum, quod in hoc *Planco*, proverbii loco dici ſolet, *perire eum non poſſe niſi ei crura fracta eſſent:* fracta ſunt, et vivit. Hoc tamen, ut alia multa (Pontio) AQUILAE referatur acceptum. This *Huſſar* Captain muſt not be confounded with CN. PLANCUS the General, and Conſul elect.

their power *. The neareſt *Italian* Towns ſet the example with ſuch eagerneſs, that the Soul of the *Roman Senate* ſeemed to be infuſed into the common Council of every Burrough. The Community of *Fermo* led the Way in taxing themſelves; the *Marrucinians* marked with ignominy the young Men of their Town who refuſed to enliſt: all *Italy* was in the ſame Temper; the *Paduans* riſing in a Body, drove out *Antony*'s Garriſon, ſhut their Gates upon another Detachment, and ſent a ſum of Money, a number of Soldiers, and, what they moſt wanted, a Magazine of Arms to the *Conſuls*. The *Norcians* raiſed a Monument for thoſe Citizens deſtroyed by *Antony*'s Sword at *Modena*, with an Inſcription, *That they fell in the Cauſe of* LIBERTY. But the unfortunate *Parmeſans*, zealouſly well affected, were the chief Butt of *Antony*'s Wrath: he ſent his brutal Brother *Lucius* with a Band of Ruffians like himſelf, who gave a furious and unexpected Aſſault, and broke into *Parma* ſword in hand. There he acted a Scene of Barbarity and Turpitude, almoſt beyond example. The grave and honourable Citizens, Friends to the *Senate* and *ſound Government*, were with Inſult and Buffoonry, put to cruel Deaths: Their Wives and Daughters were dragged into the Streets, and openly abuſed with Daggers at their Throats. Such Doings are ſhocking even in deſcription; they abundantly ſhewed what was to be expected from the Brother-*Antonys* and their Crew, if they came to be Conquerors. But now, they were no longer at liberty to ſcour and pillage the Country; for after his Defeat, *Antony* was in a manner beſieged in his turn, being blocked up within his Camp by the united Armies of the Conſuls and of *Ceſar*; and yet he ſtill preſſed

* GALLIA enim, hujus belli propulſandi, adminiſtrandi, ſuſtinendi principatum tenet: GALLIA D. Bruti nutum ipſum, ne dicam imperium, ſecuta, armis, viris, pecuniâ, belli principia firmavit: eadem crudelitati M. Antonii ſuum totum corpus objecit; exhauritur, vaſtatur, uritur; omneis aequo animo belli patitur injurias, dummodo repellat periculum SERVITUTIS. PHILIPPIC. XII.

preſſed *D. Brutus* with growing Famine. Some days paſſed in this ſituation, when *Hirtius*, elated with his Victory, and afraid of *Brutus*'s Preſſure growing too great, reſolved to make an attempt upon the Works of Circumvallation, and to force his Way into the Town. For this end he drew together the three veteran Legions, the Flower of his Army, and ordered them by day-break to take a compaſs about the Moraſs on the weſt of *Modena*, and attack the Camp where the Works were weakeſt in the marſhy Soil. Upon their Motion, *Antony* ſent his Cavalry, in which he was ſtill very ſtrong, to attack the Legions in flank, and prevent their advancing to his Lines. But *Hirtius*'s Horſe received their Charge, kept them at a bay, and covered the Foot marching unmoleſted round the Moraſs. *Antony* perceiving his Error, haſtily ordered out two Legions to intercept them; upon whom the Conſular Army fiercely turned, and the Battle joined with great Violence. In the height of the Conflict, which was juſt under the *Vallum*, D. Brutus, either in concert with the *Conſul*, or taking meaſures from the Emergency, diſencumbered a Port, and at the head of his veteran Legion, furiouſly aſſaulted the Guard of the inner Trenches: a Cry from the Camp enſued, which made the *Antonians* turn their Heads, imagining the Enemy had broke into it at another Part.——Immediately their Courage failed; their Reſiſtance ſlackened; Victory again declared for *Hirtius*, who drove them headlong back upon their own Lines. There, every thing was in confuſion: the ardent Conſul following his Blow, tore down a part of the Works, and entered pell mell with the flying Legions. On the other Wing the *young Ceſar* was acting his Part with great Bravery: for tho', in leading on his Men, he received a ſlight Wound, he was ſo far from retiring, that perceiving the Officer entruſted with the Ensign of the *Legion*, (upon the ſaving of which their *Honour* depended) to be mortally hurt, he took the

Eagle

EAGLE out of his Hand, and carried it upon his own Shoulders during the reſt of the Engagement. HIRTIUS with his victorious Troops, now got within the Camp, looking around him, ſaw the Enemy all in diſorder, except a Body of *Antony*'s Pretorian-guards, who were ſtill making a Stand before the General's Tent. Thither he ſpeeded with his choſen Band; and ruſhing impetuouſly on, he quickly broke, and put them to flight: but fluſhed with Victory, and fighting *unguarded*, both he and the brave *Pontius Aquila* received the Wounds that in the midſt of Conqueſt put an end to their Lives.

IN this third Battle *Antony* loſt his whole *veteran* Army, except his Cavalry, which went off almoſt in a Body: With theſe and the diſarmed Remains of his Foot, he was forced to take a precipitate Flight from the Town he had been beſieging for four Months, with a declared bloody Intent of murdering the Deliverer of his Country who commanded it, of uſurping the Province, and hanging like a Meteor over ROME. He now fled in piteous plight, to take Shelter among the Rocks and Dens, in the Ridge of the *Apennines*, and ſtopt not day nor night, untill he came to a Place called *the Foords* *. It lies between the *Alps* and *Apennines*, ſurrounded with ſteep Mountains and craggy Cliffs, only inhabited by Birds. In this Flight, from the higheſt degree of Debauchery, in which he uſually lived, he was in want of all things, but ſuffered chiefly by Hunger †: For the Man of Wit was miſtaken, who being aſked the day after the Battle, what he imagined *Antony* was now doing, replied, *The ſame Thing that thirſty Dogs do, on the Banks of the* Nile;

* Ἄρχονται μὲν οὖν αἱ ΑΛΠΕΙΣ—ἀπὸ τῶν αὐλῶν χωρίων ἀφ' ὧνπερ καὶ τὰ ΑΠΕΝΝΙΝΑ ὄρη, κατὰ Γένουαν, ἐμπορεῖον Λιγύων, καὶ τὰ καλέμενα Σαβάτων ΟΥΑΔΑ, ὅπερ ἐστι ΤΕΝΑΓΗ. ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝ. βιβ. δ.

† Φεύγοντι δὲ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΩ πολλὰ συνέπιπτε τῶν ἀπόρων· ὁ δὲ ΛΙΜΟΣ ἀπορώτατον. ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧ. Ἀντώνιος.

Nile; *drinking and running away* *. He had nothing but Water to drink, fed upon wild Roots, and the Carcaſſes of Animals not reckoned eatable by Men; at laſt, in paſſing the *Alps*, he and his People were even reduced to gnaw the Barks of Trees for Aliment. In theſe Straits it was that any *Semblance* of Virtue in *Antony* (for *real* he had none) appeared to advantage. He was a Pattern of Patience to the common Men, in bearing Hunger and Toil, ſleeping on the bare Ground, and feeding contentedly on the harſh Fare theſe Mountains afforded. His robuſt Body hardened by early Warfare, and his Strength of Conſtitution, proof againſt daily Debauch †, enabled him to endure ſuch Extremes.

AT MODENA the Joy and Congratulations upon the Victory, were much allayed by the Loſs of the Conſul HIRTIUS. He had great Accompliſhments; *was handſome, eloquent, and equally fitted for Letters and Arms*; to which had he joined *a more moderate Love of Power and Pleaſure*, and a *ſincerer Attachment to his Country*, he would have left a moſt conſummate Character. But in theſe Battles, the Scholars of the late *Julius Ceſar* were putting in practice againſt one another, the Leſſons they had learned under him in *Gaul*, and in the *three Parts* of the World, where he fought againſt the Commonwealth; and now the Loſs of ſo many brave Men, who might have been the Barrier of the Empire againſt Barbarians, or propagated its Boundaries to the ends of the Earth, was owing to the Ambition of his Mimic *Marc Antony*. The Hinge, however, of the War, turning upon the Relief of *Decimus Brutus*, and raiſing the Siege of *Modena*;

* Poſt *Mutinenſem* fugam, quaerentibus quid ageret *Antonius*, reſpondiſſe familiaris ejus ferebatur; *quod canis in* Aegypto; *bibit et fugit*: quando in illis regionibus conſtat canes, raptu crocodilorum exterritos, currere et bibere.
MACROB. Saturn. Lib. II. § 2.

† Tu, *Antoni!* iſtis *faucibus*, iſtis *lateribus*, iſtâ *gladiatoriâ totius corporis firmitate*, tantum vini in *Hippiae* nuptiis exhauſeras, ut tibi neceſſe eſſet in POP. ROM. conſpectu poſtridie vomere. PHILIPPIC. II.

Modena, made his Preſervation highly pleaſing to the Senate; and his ſucceſsfull Sally, very glorious to himſelf: for the ſteady Reſiſtance he had made to many fierce Aſſaults, and the Reſolution with which he had endured Hunger and Hardſhips, were crowned by this Piece of Bravery, and made the Fathers (relieved from impending Terror) willingly decree a TRIUMPH to him, and the Honour of an OVATION to the *young Ceſar*. Yet theſe were not carried without oppoſition; Envy and Malevolence are common Weeds, while Gratitude only grows in the nobleſt Soils. Some ſelfiſh Senators *, or ſecret Favourers of *Antony*, Men who valued their Palaces and Fiſh-ponds more than Liberty or their Country †, tried to thwart the Decree, and weaken the hands of *Decimus*, but were then eaſily overruled by the Friends of the Republic.

HITHERTO Affairs had been admirably conducted, both at *Rome* thro' the Spirit and Wiſdom of *Tully*, and in the Field thro' the Bravery and Capacity of their Commanders; but after this laſt Victory, and *Antony*'s diſhonourable Flight, as if the War had been ended, and nothing more remained to be done, a ſtrange Remiſſneſs ſeized upon both the *Senate* and *Generals*. The firſt Error committed, and indeed the *capital* one, was, the not immediately purſuing the Invader, when ſtript and aſtoniſhed he was flying to the Mountains. This happened thro' one of theſe unaccountable ſort of *Fatalities* that ſometimes intermix in the greateſt Affairs, and is worth our tracing.

THE Day of the laſt Battle, *Decimus Brutus*, intent upon his Sally, and after the Succeſs, upon taking care of his almoſt famiſhed Troops, did not know that the brave *Hirtius* was ſlain, but

* Illo die (quo de D. Bruti triumpho, et C. Caeſaris ovatione referebatur) cognovi paulo plureis in Senatû malevolos eſſe quam gratos.

CICERO ad M. Brutum, per *Meſſalam*.

Nonnulli invident eorum laudi, quos in Rep. probari vident.

Id. ad C. Caſſium.

† CICERO *calls them* Piſcinarii noſtri: Our *Fiſh-pond-Men*.

but thought him in full purſuit of the Enemy. The *young Ceſar* he could ſcarcely confide in, untill he had met and talked with him, when he ſeems to have been well ſatisfied of the Youth's good Intentions. But early next morning he received a Meſſage from the other Conſul, *C. Panſa*, who was lying ill of his wounds at *Bologna*, to come to him with all ſpeed. *Decimus* ſet out Poſt from *Modena*, and had not reached *Bologna* when the melancholly News met him, *That the* CONSUL *was dead*. He haſted back to his haraſſed Army, which had ſuffered ſeverely during the Siege; but by theſe croſs accidents, *Antony* had got two days march before him, with the odds, that the *Fugitives* kept no order, nor ever ſtopt but to break Priſons, and pick up Malefactors for Soldiers. That ſame day he propoſed to *Ceſar* to join Armies, and purſue *Antony* acroſs the *Apennines*. The Youth did not refuſe; but whether his VETERANS refuſed to follow, or whether *the Death of both the Conſuls* in two days ſpace, began to give him *other Views*, it is certain he did not ſtir from his Camp. *Decimus* therefore was forced to deſiſt, having but one veteran Legion, one of two years Service, and five new levied in his Army. Had his Propoſal been executed, *Antony* and his naked Crew, encloſed among barren Mountains, muſt have periſhed for want, and the War been finiſhed without drawing a Sword. However, after ſome fruitleſs trials to bring over the *Martian* and *Fourth* Legions, who had been the Strength of the Conſular Army, to ſerve under him, *Decimus*, unwearied in the Cauſe of Liberty, took his way over the *Apennine*, to purſue its Enemy, in hopes of driving him out of *Italy*, and of intercepting and deſtroying *Ventidius*, before he ſhould croſs the Mountains and join him: But the unhappy Delay, occaſioned by *Ceſar*'s ſhuffling, gave *Antony* Time to breathe, and refreſh his People at the Hollow already mentioned in the Mountains above *Ge-*

noa called the *Fords*, where the Waters from the *Alps* on one ſide, and the *Apennines* on the other, ſtagnate, and form one of the Lakes that feed the *Po*. Here his firſt Comfort was to meet with his old Camp-companion, once a Muleteer, *Ventidius*, who with three Legions, had marched over Rocks thought impaſſable, to join his General in the hour of Diſtreſs.

THIS gave him again ſomething like an Army, but not ſuch as he durſt think of facing the Victors: wherefore, calling the Soldiery together, and highly extolling their Fidelity and Courage, (ſo he called their conſpiring to plunder their Country) he made them immenſe Promiſes, and propoſed to them to follow him over the *Alps*, in order to join the Forces under *M. Lepidus*, with whom he was in perfect Intelligence. They would not hear of *a March over the* ALPS, but called out aloud, that they would either conquer, or fall fighting in *Italy*;——and, at the ſame time, began to beg of him, *to march towards* POLENZO. He was forced to comply, and immediately ſent off *Trebellius* with ſome Troops of Horſe, to take poſſeſſion of it: But, by this time, *Decimus* was advanced to *Tortona*, where being informed of *Antony*'s Speech, and the Iſſue of it, he ſent half a Legion in all haſte to prevent their poſſeſſing themſelves of *Polenzo*, who arrived about an hour before *Trebellius* and his Horſemen. This Celerity, and the Terror of being overtaken by a victorious Army, in a Country deſtitute of all Neceſſaries, made the *Ventidian* Soldiers change their mind, and undertake the frightfull March over the *Alps* towards LEPIDUS, who was lying in *Provence*, upon the Banks of the *Argens*, with an Army of forty thouſand Men.

MEAN time, in the tottering ſtate of the Common-wealth, the ſingular Event of the Death of *both* Conſuls, was big with gloomy Conſequences. Had either of them remained alive, they

they would have kept the Army together, and with the ſame Spirit they had engaged *Antony*, would have purſued him in his Flight, and put an end to the War. But it was the Loſs of C. PANSA that was lamented by the wiſeſt, as the fatal Blow to the *Roman* Republic *. I find him mentioned with great Honour before he was Conſul, by two of the beſt Judges of Men, *Tullius Cicero*, who celebrates his Humanity and Worth in protecting the Friends of Liberty under *Ceſar*'s Uſurpation, and † *C. Caſſius*, who gives him as an Inſtance of *Manhood*, and a noble Spirit, tho' of *Epicurean* Princples ‡: His Virtue was rewarded with the general Appplauſe; and when he went out of Town in military Garb, to a *Pretorian* Command, he received agreeable Marks of being *the moſt beloved Man of the Party*. For inſtead of inſulting the Supporters of the beſt of Cauſes in their Misfortunes, he conſtantly interceeded for them: and as his Worth gave him weight, he was even able to obtain a Remiſſion to T. AMPIUS BALBUS, the *Champion* of the *Republic*, both by his Pen and Sword, whom the *Ceſareans* uſed to call *the Trumpet of the civil War* **. From the time he entered upon his ſupreme Magiſtracy, riper Judgment joined to a view of the *Ravages* committed by *Julius*, and of the Havock made of the Common-wealth by *Antony*, ſeem to have made *a Convert* of him; and that from being a *Ceſarean Chieftain*, he now

 ſpoke,

* PANSA *amiſſo*, quantum detrimenti RESP. acceperit, non te praeterit——: nunc auctoritate et prudentiâ tuâ proſpicias oportet, ne inimici noſtri, Coss *ſublatis*, ſperent ſe poſſe convaleſcere. D. BRUTUS ad M. T. Cicer.

† PANSA noſter paludatus ad iii. Kalend. Jan. profectus eſt, ut quivis intelligere poſſit id, quod tu nuper dubitare coepiſti, τὸ καλὸν δι' ἀυτὸ αἱρετον eſſe; nam quod multos miſeriis levavit, et quod ſe in his malis *hominem* praebuit, mirabilis eum bonorum virorum benevolentia proſecuta eſt. M. T. CICER. ad C. Caſſium.

‡ Itaque et PANSA, qui ἡδονὴν ſequitur, VIRTUTEM retinet.
C. CASSIUS ad M. T. Cicer.

** Tuliſſent acerbius, veniam TIBI dari, quem appellabant *tubam civilis belli*.
M. T. CICER. ad T. Amp. Balbum.

ſpoke *, and wrote †, and fought, with a ſincere Deſign of reſtoring LIBERTY, and the ancient *Form* of the REPUBLIC. ‡

IT is true, there is a Death-bed Speech made for him by *Appian*, which he ſhould have delivered to the *young Ceſar*, that would prove him to have been a true Traitor, and, thro' a Train of Diſſimulation, only aiming at his own Elevation: But by a genuine Letter of *D. Brutus* ** it appears to be wholly fictitious; and has either been compoſed by ſome truſty *Ceſarean*, to give a Colour to the Youth's ſubſequent Perfidy, and ſervilely copied by that *ſlaviſh* Writer; or it is ſolely the Fruit of his own Brains, like the Account of a *hoſtile ſort of* Congreſs between *Decimus* and the *young Ceſar* immediately after the Battle, which is alſo an evident Fiction.

IT is true too, that when *Hirtius* and *Panſa* were preparing to march againſt *Antony*, QUINTUS CICERO, a brave Officer and a worthy Man, once their Comrade in *Julius*'s Camp, paſſed a ſevere Sentence upon both. He writes to his Brother's Secretary and Favourite ††, "That he was thorowly acquainted with "the two new Conſuls, whom he knew to be Men ſo abandon-"ed to Lewdneſs, Lazineſs, and the worſt Effeminacy, that if "they quitted not the Helm of the State, every thing was in "hazard

* Ubi ſunt, C. PANSA! pulcherrimae illae *cohortationes tuae*, quibus a te excitatus Senatus, inflammatus Pop. R. didicit nihil eſſe *homini Romano* foedius ſervitute? PHILIPPIC. XII.

† A PANSA litteras accepi, in quibus hortatur me ut SENATUI ſcribam, me et exercitum in poteſtate ejus futurum. C. ASIN. POLLIO ad M. Cicero.

‡ Erat in Senatu ſatis *vehemens* et *acer* PANSA, cum in caeteros hujus generis, tum maximè in ſocerum (FUFIUM CALENUM) cui Conſuli, non *animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit.* An *authentic* Teſtimony!
M. T. CICERO ad M. Brutum.

** M. T. CICERONIS ad Familiares EPISTOLAE. Lib. XI. Ep. 13. See alſo Page 337.

†† M. T. TIRO.

" hazard of Shipwreck." *It is paſt Belief*, ſays he, *what Pranks I have known them play in our Summer-Encampments, in the very face of the Enemy; ſo that unleſs there be ſomething firmer to oppoſe to that Plunderer* Antony, *he will gain them by a Similitude of Vices. The Common-wealth muſt be fortified either by Tribunitian Authority, or by that of eminent tho' private Citizens. For* theſe two *are not worthy to be truſted, the one with* Ceſena, *or the other with the Foundations* of the *Coſſutian* Alehouſes. *

BUT the good QUINTUS is too ſevere: a great Diſſimilitude of Manners, and perhaps a little *Rivalſhip*, while Fellow-Soldiers in *Gaul*, might ſharpen him againſt the *Conſuls*. Magnificence and Profuſion, and conſequent Rapacity, were almoſt the Marks of the *Ceſarean* Party, from whence the Tranſition is eaſy to Luxury and Lewdneſs †. They had been two of *Ceſar*'s Favourites, and had indulged themſelves in the Exceſſes which *he* could permit, or a *Camp* afford. But if Wildneſs in Youth abſolutely diſqualified Men for Buſineſs; or if libertine Manners were quite inconſiſtent with Honour and good Conduct, many Countries would be in a diſmal ſituation. Great, for certain, is the Superiority which *thorow Virtue* has over the virtuous *by halves*, and commands a proportionable degree of Eſteem and Confidence: but that no good Cauſe can be ſupported by the

* COSS. DESIG. quos ego penitus novi, libidinum et languoris effoeminatiſſimi animi plenos; qui niſi a gubernaculis receſſerint, maximum ab univerſo naufragio periculum eſt. Incredibile eſt, quae ego illos ſcio, oppoſitis GALLORUM caſtris, in aeſtivis feciſſe; quos ille Latro, (ANTONIUS) niſi aliquid firmius fuerit, ſocietate vitiorum deliniet. RESP. eſt aut tribunitiis, aut privatis conſiliis munienda: nam ISTI DUO vix ſunt digni quorum alteri *Ceſenam*, alteri *Coſſutianarum tabernarum* fundamenta credas. We would ſay, With the Care of *Brentford*, or erecting *Booths* in *Bartlemy-Fair*.

† It was objected to the *young Ceſar*, by *Lucius Antony*, during the *Peruſian* Commotion, that he had made the moſt infamous of all Bargains with *A. Hirtius* in *Spain*, and ſubmitted to the baſeſt Compliance, for the Price of CCC *millibus nummorum*, near *L.* 2500.

the *intemperate*, nor Truſt repoſed in a *Man of Pleaſure*, is contradicted by Inſtances which I ardently wiſh were fewer than they are. *Hirtius*'s Conduct was liable to ſome Exceptions *: But both *the noble Part* which *Panſa* acted during the *Ceſarean* Calamities, and the Friendſhip he cultivated † with the Well-wiſhers to Liberty, (two ſure Teſts of a Man) ſhew him to have been a Perſon of ſuch Courage, Sincerity and Worth, that from his Death we may almoſt date the Ruin of the *Roman* Republic. ‡

FOR

* Bellum ad *Mutinam* gerebatur, ut *nihil* in CAESARE reprehenderes, nonnulla in HIRTIO. M. T. Cicer. ad Brutum.

The chief of theſe Exceptions, I ſuſpect, was a *Correſpondence* kept up with his old Friends, the *Ceſarean Officers* in *Antony*'s Camp, or with his Abettors at *Rome*. For no Man could puſh on the War with more Spirit than this brave Conſul; but his *Affection* leading one way, and his *preſent Character* another, he ſeems to have been a little in the Caſe of the famous Marechal BIRON, who tho' he hated *Henry* IV. yet in his Wars, *ne pouvoit pas s'empêcher de bien faire et de mal parler*. MEZERAI.

† He lived in great Intimacy with CICERO's Friend *T. Pomponius Atticus* (1), with *Q. Cornificius* (2), *Decimus Brutus* (3), *Caius Caſſius* (4), and, to ſum up all, with *M. Cicero himſelf* (5).

(1) Nihil ſine PANSA *tuo* volo. Cic. ad *Attic.* (2) Non te fefelliſſent quae à PANSA te poſſe conſequi arbitrarêre; *nam te diligebat.* ad *Q. Cornific.* (3). (4) See above Pages 337. 339. (5) Fortiſſimus Conſul atque optimus—homo mihi familiariſſimus—(quem) ab ineunte illius aetate, uſus, conſuetudo, ſtudiorum etiam honeſtiſſimorum ſocietas ſimilitudoque (mihi) conjunxit: ejus curam incredibilem in aſperrimis belli civilis periculis perſpexi, non ſolum ſalutis, ſed etiam dignitatis meae. M. T. CICERO, PHILIPP. VII.

‡ The Poet TASSONE, in his laughing way, makes *Baldi*, the famous Lawyer, inform us, that the Place where PANSA died, or rather where he received his Death's Wounds, was called *Grevalcore*, i. e. *Heart-break*.

Grace una terra, antica e favorita
De le Grazie del Cielo a meraviglia
Col territorio voſtro apunto unita,
E Contana di quâ, tredeci miglia:
Già vi fù morto PANSA, *e dal dolore*
Nominata da ſuoi fù GREVALCORE.

SECCHIA RAPITA. Canto II. § 15.

And

FOR now JULIUS CESAR's *adopted Son* and *Heir* was left ſole Commander of the veteran and *Conſular* Armies, in whom lay the chief Strength that the REPUBLIC had to complete her Victory, and prevent a Coalition of the *Julian* Soldiery, under *Lepidus* and *Plancus*, equally corrupt as thoſe now defeated under *Antony*. The Fall of both the Conſuls being ſo *ſingular* an Accident, and happening ſo *opportunely* for the immediate Purpoſes of the Youth's Ambition, made People ſuſpect *foul play*. A Surmiſe was ſpread, that *Glauco*, PANSA's *Phyſician*, had been bribed by the *young Ceſar* to poiſon his Wounds; and that his own Soldiers had been bribed to kill HIRTIUS in the heat and confuſion of the Battle. The Doctor was certainly taken up by *Torquatus* the Conſul's Treaſurer, and kept long in cuſtody *; and the Youth's after Conduct did not tend to clear him from the other Part of the Suſpicion.

THE firſt Step of it was, not plainly to refuſe *Decimus Brutus*, who was preſſing him to purſue *Antony*; but to *ſhift* and *delay* untill *Decimus* was obliged to march without him, when it was too late. He obſerved the ſame Conduct towards *L. Munatius Plancus*, Conſul elect, and Governor of the *farther Gaul*, who was likewiſe preſſing him by Letters to come and join him: an

And another Bard, who was born this ſame Year, (fruitfull in Poets, giving Birth to TIBULLUS †) the unfortunate OVID, in his FASTI (a perpetual Almanack of Feaſts, Faſts, Prognoſtics of Weather) has, in a ſort of Pun, fixed the Day of the Battle to the 14th of *April*. Having mentioned the Ides of that Month, the 13th, he adds,

Luce ſequutura tutos pete, navita! portus;
Ventus ab occaſu grandine miſtus erit.
Scilicet ut fuerit—tamen hâc Mutinenſia CAESAR
Grandine, militiâ, confudit arma ſuâ. Lib. IV. § 8.

Where he has confounded the Day of the firſt Battle with the Conſuls, in which the *young Ceſar* had no Part, with the laſt, in which he had, in order to give him the honour of the whole.

† Natalem primo noſtrum videre parente,
Cum cecidit fato CONSUL UTERQUE ſuo. ALB. TIBUL. Lib. III. Eleg. 5.

* M. T. CICER. Lib. ſing. ad M. BRUTUM, Ep. 6.

an Uniformity, which ſhewed an Alteration of Counſels and a ſettled Deſign. He had obtained one great end, for which he had taken arms, *to bear down* M. ANTONY; and Fortune ſeemed now to offer him a favourable Conjuncture to proſecute his *final* purpoſe, his own *Grandeur:* for it does not appear that ever he had been ſincere in his profeſſions of *Love to Liberty*, or Regard to *its Friends:* —theſe were but ſecondary Views, *Steps* neceſſary to content Ambition and ſatiate Revenge. He was beſet with his Father's Creatures, bold and cunning Men, *Balbus*, *Matius* and *Poſthumus*; and with the Officers of the *Ceſarean* Legions, who dreaded *Peace*, and deſpiſed the SENATE. At *their* inſtigation he firſt brought over the *Chiefs* of the Veterans in the *Conſular-Army* to his ſervice; and then, in contempt of the *Laws*, and of all his *Engagements*, reſolved to abandon his Friends, deſert the *Nobility* and *Common-wealth*, and *make himſelf* CONSUL for the remaining part of the Year. As a good Citizen, a Man of Honour, and faithfull Officer, he ought to have led his Army by great marches northward, in purſuit of a *public Enemy:* But, inſtead of that, he firſt refuſed to join either of the *Conſuls elect*, and then loitered long about *Modena* *, catching at Pretences for his intended Perfidy. He affected to talk moderately himſelf: — but his Centurions were taught to baul out, that the SENATE called him a BOY, that Neglects were put upon their Generals on purpoſe to defraud *them*; in ſo far as neither *Decimus* nor *Ceſar* were nominated in the Commiſſion for aſſigning Lands to them at the expiration of the War. At

* Quod vivit *Antonius* hodie, quod Lepidus unà eſt, quod exercitus habent non contemnendos, quod ſperant, quod audent, id omne CAESARI acceptum referre poſſunt. Neque ego ſuperiora repetam; ſed ex eo tempore, quo *ipſe mihi profeſſus eſt ſe venire*, ſi venire voluiſſet, aut oppreſſum jam bellum eſſet, aut in adverſiſſimam illis *Hiſpaniam*, cum detrimento eorum maximo detruſum. Quae *mens* eum, aut quorum *conſilia* a tantâ gloriâ, ſibi vero etiam neceſſariâ ac ſalutari avocarint, et ad cogitationem, Conſulatûs bimeſtris ſummo cum terrore hominum, et inſulsâ cum efflagitatione, tranſtulerint, exputare non poſſum.

CN. PLANCUS ad CIC. Ep. 24.

At the ſame time, to diſengage himſelf from the great Perſon he called his *Father*, he had a Story trumped up by one *Segulius Labeo*, of an ambiguous Phraſe dropt by M. T. CICERO, *that the* young Ceſar *ſhould be highly commended, honoured, and raiſed to Dignity:* ——or, as the Words will bear, *honoured*, and *made away with* *. He ſaid, *he muſt take care to put it out of their power* TO MAKE AWAY WITH HIM. He therefore waited till he heard what was become of *Antony*; and was no ſooner certainly informed of his Eſcape, his Junction with *Ventidius*, and Reception in *Gaul*, than he ſent a Deputation of Officers to the *Senate*, to demand nothing leſs than the SUPREME MAGISTRACY. That *grand Council* was ſtartled, not ſo much at the Conſequences of his being *Conſul*, as that the ſeeking it in that Way, ſhewed him to be a *Traitor*, who had malverſed in his Command againſt *Antony*; and now, inſtead of taking Orders from *them*, had a mind to oppreſs the ROMAN REPUBLIC. The Fathers on this occaſion ſhewed a noble Spirit, and gave a Specimen what Virtue even the *Proſpect of Liberty* can inſpire. Tho' they were appriſed of the Increaſe of his Power, by the addition of four veteran Legions, (eighteen thouſand Men †), and had no immediate Force to oppoſe to him, they unanimouſly ‡ reject-

X x ed

* Laudandum adoleſcentem, ornandum, *tollendum.*

† The MARTIAN and the FOURTH, of *Hirtius's* Army; and the SIXTH and EIGHTH, who had hitherto remained as it were *neuter.* PHILIPPIC. XI.

‡ This is expreſsly affirmed by the beſt authority M. CICERO, who was preſent, and bore a chief part in the Refuſal *; it ſhews the fooliſh Malignity of thoſe Writers who aver, that the *young Ceſar* propoſed to the firſt *Conſular* of *Rome* to ſeek that honour *conjunctly* with *him*, and then, when he had obtained his ends, cheated and abandoned him. Men capable, either thro' Negligence or Deſign, to deliver ſuch Tales, ſo incoherent and eaſily confuted, for Truth, have too long met with credit as *Hiſtorians.*

* Sed Caeſarem, meis conſiliis adhuc gubernatum, praeclarâ ipſum indole, admirabilique conſtantiâ, improbiſſimis litteris quidam, fallacibuſque interpretibus ac nuntiis, impulerunt in ſpem certiſſimam CONSULATUS: quod ſimulatque ſenſi, nec

ego

ed the inſolent Propoſal: not a Senator, not a Magiſtrate, nor even a Tribune of the People, ſeconded or ſupported the illegal Demand: A Firmneſs that amazed the Centurions; one of whom, like a true *Ceſarean*, had the Impudence to throw aſide his Robe, diſcover a traiterous Sword, and clapping his hand on the Hilt, ſaid openly, *My Lords, if you will not,* THIS *ſhall make him* Conſul.

BUT the recent Defeat of *Antony*, which at *Rome* was thought *deciſive*, and their Truſt in *Decimus* and *Plancus*, kept up the Spirits of the Senators; tho' I am apt to think, that the great Revolution in the *Eaſtern* Provinces (the News of which arrived about this Time) chiefly emboldened them to put the Negative on the *young Ceſar*.

NEXT to POMPEY the GREAT's, no ROMAN's Name was more terrible to Enemies, or more precious to Friends in the Eaſt, than that of C. CASSIUS. Having gone *Queſtor* with the covetous CRASSUS, he early diſcovered ſuperior *military Skill:* he diſſuaded the Meaſures that made that Expedition ſo fatal to *Rome*, and by his Courage and Conduct ſaved the broken Remains of the Legions after the Defeat. This Retreat, made good thro' a vaſt and diſpeopled Country, with a victorious Cavalry, the ſwifteſt in the World, at his heels, did him great honour. For

ego illum abſentem litteris monere deſtiti, nec accuſare praeſentes ejus neceſſarios, qui ejus cupiditati ſuffragari videbantur, nec in SENATU ſceleratiſſimorum conſiliorum fonteis aperire dubitavi: nec vero ullâ in re memini aut *Senatum* meliorem, aut Magiſtratus. Nunquam enim in honore extraordinario *potentis* hominis, vel *potentiſſimi* potius, (quandoquidem potentia jam in VI poſita eſt et ARMIS) accidit, ut nemo Tribunus pl. nemo alio Magiſtratû, nemo privatus, auctor exiſteret. M. CICERO ad M. BRUTUM. Ep. X. *Compare this with,* ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ μὲν δὴ, τοῖς ἐπαρθεὶς διὰ φιλαρχίαν,—συνεβούλευε (τῇ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ) θεραπεύσαι τὸν ἄνδρα ὑβρισμένον (ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ) καὶ σφαῖρᾳ ἔτι ἄρχοντα πολλῶν—ὡς δ' ἄν τι μὴ πράξειε παρὰ τὸ τῇ βουλῇ συμφέρον, ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ συνελέσθαι τῶν τινὰ πρεσβυτέρων ἔμφρονα τῆς ἐκείνου νεότητος ἐγκρατῆ παιδαγωγον. ἀλλὰ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝΑ μὲν ἡ ΒΟΥΛΗ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐγέλασε. *and the* Falſhood *appears glaring.*

ΑΠΠΙΑΝ. Εμφυλ. ΒΙΒ. Γ.

For he was hotly purſued by the *Parthians*, and at laſt blocked up in *Antioch*: They knew but little of the Art of Sieges, and upon the Report of a *Roman* Army under *M. Cicero*, then Governor of *Cilicia*, marching that way, abandoned the Blocade; of which CASSIUS taking the Opportunity, followed cloſe, fell upon them at a diſadvantage, gave their Leader *Oſakes*, a Commander of great Name, his Death's Wound, and totally routed them. To wipe off this Stain, they ſoon returned in greater number under *Pacorus*, (ſome ſay, the King's own Son) againſt whom *Caſſius*, now ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of more Forces, openly marched *, foiled him in a fierce Encounter, and preſerved *Syria* from the *Parthian*-Ravages †. Here then, and in *Phenicia*, and along all the eaſt Border of the Empire the Name of CASSIUS was in veneration.

WHEN M. BRUTUS and he parted at *Athens*, each with Intent to provide for their own and the *Republic*'s Welfare, CASSIUS, on his way to *Syria*, met with *Cn. Lentulus*, the Conſul's Son, Proqueſtor of *Aſia*; who upon *Dolabella*'s Incurſion had taken Refuge in *Brutus*'s Camp; and returning after his Departure, had retained the Cavalry, and made new Levies in the Province. Theſe, together with a large Sum, (the Provincial Tax) he delivered to *C. Caſſius*, and by that Beginning of Power, enabled him to enter *Syria* with the *Dignity of a General*. When he came there, he found the Country in Confuſion, and a civil War in the *Roman* Army. *Sextus Ceſar*, a Youth who had been left by his Kinſman *Julius* as Governor; truſting to his Relation to the Dictator, had, by Inſolence and Cruelty, provoked the abuſed Soldiery to mutiny and kill him. The Legion rebelled in Self-defence; and with *Cecilius Baſſus* at their

 head,

* ΚΑΣΣΙΟΣ μὲν οὖν ἀναςραλοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπὶ τὸν ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ ἠπείγετο ἐπανιόσων τοῖς ἐκειθεν ἐπιῤῥοις Πάρθοις. ΙΩΣΗΦ. Αρχ. ι δ. § 26.

† CICERO's Letters from *Cilicia*, written from flying Reports concerning the *Parthians*, are not very conſiſtent with reſpect to CASSIUS: But he does him full Juſtice in the eleventh PHILIPPIC.

head, (whether forced or willing, is uncertain) and ſix thouſand Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Princes, they took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong Town of *Apamea*, and repulſed both *L. Statius Murcus*, and *Q. Marcius Criſpus*, who, with three times their number came to reduce them. But theſe brave Men and good Citizens, no ſooner heard of *Caſſius*'s Arrival, and of what was paſſing at *Rome*, than they reſigned their Commands to the ſuperior General, and cordially joined him in defence of the Commonwealth. *Baſſus* wanted to play another game, and ſhut the Gates of *Apamea*; as if he intended to ſtand a ſecond Siege: But the *Mutiners* thinking this the proper time to obtain Pardon, ſent Commiſſioners to treat with that great *Roman*, and, in ſpite of *Baſſus*, delivered up themſelves and the Town *. About the ſame time, *Caſſius* was informed, that the Proconſul, *A. Allienus*, *Dolabella*'s Lieutenant, was marching up with four Legions (the Remains of the ſeveral Armies lately led to the Eaſt by the unhappy Triumvirate, *Craſſus*, *Pompey* and *Ceſar*) from *Egypt* thro', what we now call, the *Holy Land*. Thither he haſted to meet him; and at *Tarichea*, near his old Camp at *Capharnaum*, embodied the Forces under him into his own great Army, conſiſting now of above *ſeventy thouſand* Men. As he knew the weight of the impending War, and what was requiſite for the ſupport of ſuch an Army, he was obliged to take meaſures accordingly, and both lay grievous Taxes on the Cities and States, and exact them with irremiſſible rigour. It was an ungracious Piece of his Duty; but abſolutely neceſſary, and no Fault of that eminent Captain, and worthy Citizen: the Blame lay on the *original Cauſe*, and grand Source of all the Miſeries of the Empire, the *wild Ambition* of JULIUS CESAR, and of the Succeſſors to his Counſels and Crimes. CASSIUS being in the

* L. MURCI, et Q. CRISPI, Imperatorum dignitatem, quantum eſt in te, tuêre: nam *Baſſus* miſerè noluit mihi legionem tradere. Quod niſi milites, invito eo, legatos ad me miſiſſent, clauſam Apameam tenuiſſet, quoad vi eſſet expugnata.

C. CASSIUS ad CICER.

the Neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, ſent to ANTIPATER, the Father of *Herod* the Great, then PREFECT of JUDEA *, and demanded a Subſidy of *ſeven thouſand* Talents, (about *one hundred* and *thirty thouſand Pounds*). LAODICEA, that had invited *Dolabella*, was not razed nor burnt, but ſo plundered as to be left next to deſolate. The TARSIANS too ſmarted ſeverely for their Perverſity in patronizing the *Ceſarean* Party: a Contribution was laid upon them of *fifteen hundred* Talents, about *two hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds*, which reduced them to the Neceſſity, not only of ſtripping their Houſes, Temples, and public Buildings of all their Ornaments, but of ſelling their Sons and Daughters for Slaves: a Pitch of Diſtreſs which coming to the General's Knowledge, on his Return from *Syria*, melted him to ſuch Compaſſion, that he granted them Immunity from all future Taxes.

MERIT, if proſperous, cannot avoid Envy. There were not wanting livid Senators, who carped at *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, for aſſuming to themſelves the Command of Armies and Provinces, and Diſpoſal of the Revenue, without *public Authority*; and that ſame String is harped upon by all the *Ceſarean* Penmen. They forget that the firſt *free Senate*, after the ſuppreſſion of Tyranny, *ratified* theſe Provinces to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; and that C. PANSA, before he ſet out with the new Levies for *Modena*, had *abrogated* the Laws and Ordinances *violently* paſſed by *Antony*. But they could only mutter in the Senate: the Patron of theſe Heroes was too great a Genius, and of too great Experience, to be pinched for *legal* Colours to paint the ſalutary Conduct of his Friends. For tho' he was conſtantly extolling the *ancient* Commonwealth, the Gravity and Severity of the *Senate*, and the ſtrict

* ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ—πάσης ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΣ Ἰουδάιας ἀποδείκνυται. — Κελευθὶν δὲ τῷ Ἰουδαίοις ἐισενεγχεῖν ἑπτακόσια Τάλαντα, δείσας ὁ Ἀντίπατρος τὴν ἀπειλὴν τε ΚΑΣΣΙΟΥ τοῖς τε υἱοῖς διέλεγεν ἐισπράττειν τὰ χρήματα, &c.

ΙΩΣΗΦ. Αλως. α § ζ π.

ſtrict Obſervation of the *ſacred Rules* delivered by their Anceſtors; tho' theſe were deſervedly his favouriteTopics, yet when the Exigencies of the Public required premature Honours to be beſtowed, when the *Propretorial* Power was to be veſted in the young *Octavius*, or the*Proconſular* in *M. Brutus*, he was at no loſs, in forming the Decree, how to reconcile the *ancient rigid Forms* of the unanimous Republic with the *Neceſſity of Affairs* ariſing from their preſent Degeneracy. And indeed, as Honeſty is true Policy, he uſes no *Law-quirks*, employs no *Palliatives* to make them ply to one another: but fairly and frankly owns, that the Deliverers of *Rome* had been forced, on ſome occaſions, *to be a* SENATE to themſelves; ſaying what was certainly true, 'That 'in ſuch a Shock of Government, and Violation of public Or-'der, wiſe Men were to govern themſelves rather by the Exi-'gencies of the preſent Times, than by the Uſages of the paſt: 'They were to take the *moſt ſacred of all Laws*, and *moſt invio-'lable Precedent*, THE LIBERTY OF THEIR COUNTRY as the 'Rule of their Conduct. Thus, ſaid he, M. BRUTUS did not 'wait for our *Decrees*, as he knew our *Intentions*, and inſtead 'of going to *Crete* his own Province, made ſtraight for *Mace-'don*, where he looked upon every thing as *his*, which YOU 'wiſh to be *yours:* he raiſed new Legions, received the old to 'his Service, brought over *Dolabella* the Conſul's Cavalry to 'himſelf before that Murderer had committed the horrid Parri-'cide; and by his ſo doing declared him a public Enemy: How 'elſe ſhould he have ventured to appropriate the Cavalry of the 'CONSUL? In the ſame manner C. CASSIUS, with equal Ma-'gnanimity, left *Italy* to prevent that Incendiary from making 'himſelf Maſter of *Syria*. By what *RIGHT* or *LAW—?*... 'by that which JOVE himſelf framed, *That whatever is for the* 'Good *of the* Commonwealth, *ſhall be deemed* legal *and* juſt!'

IN conſequence hereof, he propoſed the following *Draught* of a Decree to be enacted by the *Senate*. "That whereas P. CORNE-"LIUS DOLABELLA, and all who had been his Aiders, Abettors or "Aſſiſtants,

" Aſſiſtants, in his cruel and atrocious Crimes had been adjudged
" *Enemies to the State*; and whereas the Senate had reſolved,
" that the ſaid *P. Dolabella*, as one who with unheard of Villa-
" ny, had trampled upon all Laws, human and divine, and pol-
" luted himſelf with an execrable Parricide, ſhould be proſecu-
" ted with Fire and Sword, untill he ſuffered the Puniſhment
" required by Gods and Men; THEREFORE, THE SENATE
" willed and decreed, that C. CASSIUS, Proconſul, ſhould govern
" the Province of *Syria*, as having the beſt and moſt legal Title ſo
" to do;—that he ſhould receive into his Service the ſeveral Armies
" under *Q. Marcius Criſpus*, *L. Statius Murcus* Proconſuls, and *Allie-*
" *nus* Lieutenant-General, who are hereby authoriſed to deliver
" them over to him; and that with theſe, and whatever other
" Forces he may raiſe, he make War on *Dolabella* by Sea and
" Land: and for the better carrying on the ſame, that he be veſted
" with Power and Authority to command in *Syria*, *Aſia*, *Bithynia*
" and *Pontus*, and to exact from the Cities and States therein,
" what Moneys, Ships, Seamen, and warlike Stores ſhall ſeem
" good to him; and that into whatever Province of the Em-
" pire he ſhall come, in proſecution of this War, that there
" the Power and Command of C. CASSIUS ſhall be ſuperior to
" *his*, who then governs that Province: As alſo, That the two
" Kings, *Deiotarus*, Father and Son, as they have in many Wars
" aſſiſted the *Roman* State, will likewiſe, in aſſiſting *C. Caſſius*
" with all their Forces and Power, do an agreeable Service to
" the *Roman Senate* and *People*; and in like manner, whatever
" other Kings, Tetrarchs *, Princes, ſhall do the ſame, that the
" Senate

* It was a part of the *Roman* Policy, when they did not chuſe to reduce a Country immediately into one of their own Provinces, to ſplit the Government into *four* parts, and put each into the hands of the Deſcendants, or Kinſmen of the former Princes, according to their Demerit, and good Affection to *Rome*. Theſe they called Tetrarchs, or *Governors of a fourth*. In this ſtate they could not eaſily rebell, as one of the four was a Spy upon the others. Vid. VIRGIL. Lib. VI. lin. 851. ΔΟΥΚΑΝ. Κεφ. γ. § 1. HORAT. Satyr. Lib. I. Sat. III. lin. 12.

" Senate and People of *Rome* will not be unmindfull of the Ser-
" vice."

In virtue of this Decree and of the former, granting the ſame Powers to M. Brutus in the Provinces on this Side the *Helleſpont*, the whole Eaſtern Tract of the Empire from *Italy* to the *Euphrates*, was under the Government of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. The latter was not only known in theſe Parts by his *Parthian* Exploits; but by the higher Command he had bore of *Admiral* under Pompey during the unhappy civil War. This had made him famous all along the Coaſts of *Syria*, *Aſia*, *Pontus*, and the Iſlands; and his Bravery and Skill had been admired by the *Phenicians*, particularly the *Tyrians*, the greateſt Seamen in the old World. While in this Command hearing that Cesar was, with a few ſmall Veſſels, coming into the Mouth of the *Cydnus* in *Cilicia*, *Caſſius* formed a Deſign worthy of himſelf, to ſurpriſe him, and deliver *Rome* from her Oppreſſor. His Veſſels were manned, and Cohorts laid in ambuſh, when Fate reſerved *Ceſar* to fall a Victim to Liberty in the Senate-houſe, by making him then land not on the Bank of the River he had determined, but on the oppoſite, where *Caſſius* had made no Preparations * to receive him. Being now again embark'd in the ſame Cauſe, and *Commander in chief* by Sea as well as Land, he quickly gathered a formidable Fleet, manned it with the experteſt Seamen, and ſeemed every way in condition to reſcue the Republic out of rapacious Hands, and conſummate the glorious Enterprize begun by him and *Brutus*, of re-eſtabliſhing Liberty in *Rome*.

He therefore wrote on the ſeventh of *March* a *public* Letter to the Senate, and *privately* to Cicero, as the Head of

* C. Cassius in eâ familia natus, quae non modo dominatum ſed ne potentiam quidem cujuſquam ferre potuit,——hanc rem (mortem *Caeſaris*) in *Ciliciâ* ad oſtium fluminis Cydni confeciſſet, ſi ille ad eam ripam ad quam conſtituerit, non ad contrariam naveis applicuiſſet. Philippic. II.

of it, to let them know what he had done, 'to bid them act 'boldly for the Republic, in aſſurance of ſuch powerfull Sup-'port; and be perſuaded, that the Army under his Command 'was *their* Army, and intended for the Protection of every wor-'thy *Roman*.' Then hearing that *Dolabella* was come to *Cilicia*, invited by the ſlaviſh Inhabitants of *Tarſus*, (many of whom were *Jews*) he turned, and was taking his Rout thro' *Phenicia*; but before he could reach *Syria*, the Ravager of *Aſia*, driving from Town to Town, had made a violent effort to break into *Antioch*, the Capital of the Province: he was repulſed with Loſs by the Garriſon; and upon the above mentioned Invitation of the *Laodiceans*, (diſaffected like the *Tarſians*), had marched towards the Coaſt with all his Forces, now pretty conſiderable. Arrived at *Laodicea*, DOLABELLA broke down a part of the Wall towards the *Iſthmus*, within which the City ſtands, and joining by this means the Town with his Camp, he ordered his Navy collected chiefly from *Lycia* and *Rhodes*, to take Shelter in the Port. But he had to do with a Man every way his Superior. Q. *Caſſius*, the General's Brother, had been buſy equipping a Fleet, and preſſing Seamen all along the *Aſiatic* Coaſt; and being ſoon joined by the Admiral *Sextilius Rufus*, and the Rear-Admirals *Turulius* and *Patiſcus* with their Squadrons, they blocked up *Laodicea* by Sea, while CASSIUS with his Army lay on the Land-ſide, and meant to conquer without coming to a Battle: But thro' the Backwardneſs of the *corrupt Magiſtracy* of RHODES, and ſlow Rendezvous of his Fleet, it coſt him three *naval* Engagements e're the Haven of *Laodicea* was ſecurely blocked up. Then Famine began to appear both in Town and Camp, in its uglieſt Shapes; and, after an unſucceſsfull Sally, *Dolabella*'s own Soldiers, faithleſs like their Maſter, opened ſome private Entries to the Enemy. An evil Conſcience did not fail to ſuggeſt to him what he deſerved for the inhuman Murder of *Trebonius*; or what he might expect from CASSIUS, that brave Man's intimate Friend. At the firſt Alarm of the

Town's being taken, he haſtily ſtretched out his Neck to a Slave, who ſtruck off his guilty Head, and prevented a groundleſs Dread of Retaliation of the Cruelties he had exerciſed upon the *Proconſul*. For his truſty Lieutenant, *Octavius* the *Marſian*, conſcious of the like Deſerts, following his Leader's Example, CASSIUS ordered both their Bodies to be interred with Decency. Their Death left him Maſter of all *Aſia*, from the Border of *Egypt* to the *Euxine*, and from the *Euphrates* to the *Egean* Sea. This rapid Run of Succeſs being known in *Rome*, and that ſuch powerfull Armies were under the Command of Men of high Reputation for military Skill, and known Affection to the *Cauſe of Liberty*, raiſed the Spirits of the Senators, and made them ſteady in refuſing the Conſulſhip to the *young Ceſar*, tho' demanded by a ſturdy Deputation of *four hundred Veterans*.

THAT ambitious Youth now pulled off the Maſk; and ſhewed that his ſeeming good Affection to his Country, and pretended Moderation towards her Deliverers, was all Diſſimulation *. He now profeſſed himſelf a true *Marian-Partizan* †, an Enemy to the

* Simulatam *Pompeianarum* gratiam partium: mox ubi decreto patrum, faſces et jus praetoris invaſerit, caeſis HIRTIO et PANSA (ſive hoſtis illos, ſeu PANSAM venenum vulneri adfuſum, ſui milites HIRTIUM, et machinator doli CAESAR abſtulerant) utriuſque copias occupaviſſe. TACITUS.

† The comic Poet CESARE CAPORALI, who has writ *the Life of* MECENAS in the burleſque allegorical Strain, brought in vogue by *Berni* and *Melza*, and ſolely admired for ſome time by the *Italians*, ſays, 'the *young Ceſar* at his Entry into 'Rome rode a dark bay Horſe, without other Blemiſh than the Mark of CN. CARBO (the Head of the *Marian* or *Plebeian* Faction) burnt on his Thigh; but his 'Saddle being ill ſtuffed, he was in hazard of being galled to the Bones: behind 'him rode *Don Mecenas of Perſenna*, upon a little lame Pad, with the Halter tied 'to his Crupper.'

Venia il figliuol di CESARE——
Sopra un morel di tutta perfettione
Senz'aleun Segno, fuor ch'in una coſſa
Stampato il marchio havea di CNEO CARBONE:
Ma quaſi il cavalcava à la diſdoſſa.

Perche

the *Patricians* and *Senate*; and to give Proof of it, having fined the Citizens of *Norſia*, for inſcribing on the Monument of thoſe killed in the Battle of *Modena*, That *they fell fighting for* LIBERTY, in a Sum far above their Abilities to pay; with equal cruelty and contradiction to his own Conduct, he ſent his Soldiers among them, ſtripped them of all they had, and drove them, like Exiles, out of their Town. Then calling for his Priſoners, voted *Enemies* by the SENATE, he openly diſmiſſed them, with the choice of either remaining with him, or returning to *Antony*'s Service; and to compleat his Deſertion and Diſobedience, he procured an Oath to be taken by the Legions under his Command, *That they would never ſerve againſt any Army that had bore Arms under the late* Julius Ceſar.

THE *CHIEFS* of his Council had been Inſtruments of the Dictator, in overturning the Laws, and trampling upon the moſt ſacred Ties of Humanity, *Corn. Balbus*, *Cn. Matius* and *Q. Oppius*. They kept a cloſe Correſpondence with the Tools of the ſame Faction in *Rome*, *C. Servilius Vatia*, *Calviſius Sabinus*, and *Antony*'s Proxy *Fuſius Calenus*; by all whom, a young Man abundantly aſpiring, unſtable in the Paths of Virtue, and dazzled with Proſpects of Power, was eaſily driven to cancel his Engagements, betray his Conſtituents, and become the Head of a Party, in which *they* hoped to find their *Grandeur*. To the abovenamed Perſons of great Experience and Addreſs, we muſt add a younger Sett, who were *Men of Execution*; Commanders of the Legions, and at the ſame time perſonal Favourites. Theſe were *M. Salvidienus Rufus*, and *M. Vipſanius Agrippa*, profeſſed Soldiers; while *Cornelius Gallus*, and *C. Cilnius Mecenas*, of Equeſtrian

Peroche la Bardella ſenza Stoppa,
Gli faceva l'arcione premer ſu l'oſſa.
Preſſo a lui ſe n' venia una Zoppa
Chinea, Don Mecenate di Porſenna
Con la cavezza attaccata a la Groppa.

Such was the *Italian* Wit!

ſtrian Rank, added Politeneſs and Literature to their Capacity for ſhining in either a civil or military Character. Surrounded with theſe, the *young Ceſar* took his March from *Modena* towards *Rome*, to ſtand Candidate for the Conſulſhip, at the Head of forty thouſand armed Men, and made good what *Cicero* ſaid a little ſarcaſtically to the inſolent *Centurion*, who laid his hand on his Sword, *If that be the way*, Friend, *in which your Maſter* petitions *for the Conſulſhip, he will ſurely obtain it.*

It is commonly believed, upon the Faith of the low Writers already named, that this old experienced Stateſman was *overreached* by the *young Ceſar*. If he was, it happened thro' the *Youth*'s being a Rogue, and *Cicero* an honeſt Man,—by the former's abandoning his Friends, falſifying his Oaths, and not only taking part with, but becoming himſelf an Enemy to the Commonwealth. What Prudence is proof againſt Diſſimulation and Perfidy? He had fairly entered the good Way,—was embarked in the beſt of Cauſes,—was dear to all good Men, and had the ſame Friends and Enemies with the moſt approved Patriots. He was not only making war upon *Antony*, grown formidable to the Senate, and odious to all Lovers of Liberty, but had hired Aſſaſſins to ſtab him while Conſul; which, however baſe, left no doubt of his Sincerity. *Cicero* therefore joining his Profeſſions and Actions, not only believed him a real *Roman*, but, in a manner, *undertook* for his good Behaviour to the Republic; and warmed by his Hopes and his own good Heart, did not ſcruple to engage, *That the young* Ceſar *would always be ſuch a Citizen, as he appeared to be, the Day he marched to the Relief of* D. Brutus, *and to raiſe the Siege of* Modena *. Yet no ſooner was he Conqueror, and ſole General, by the Death of the Conſuls, than Cicero began to *doubt* †, and by degrees his *Doubts*

* Promitto, recipio, ſpondeo, P. C! *C. Caeſarem* talem ſemper fore civem qualis hodie ſit. Philippic. V.

† Adoleſcentem ita multi labefactant, ut ne moveatur interdum extimeſcam. Ad Brut.

Doubts increaſed *, untill the Youth's open Treachery finally cleared them.

THE SENATE mean while was buſy in doing Honours to their faithful Servants, the deceas'd Conſuls, and to the brave *Pontius Aquila*, *Decimus Brutus*'s Lieutenant, who had fallen fighting by *Hirtius*'s Side. Their Bodies were brought to *Rome*, a public Burial and noble Monument was voted for them in the *Campus Martius*, and M. CORNUTUS, the Pretor had Authority from the Senate to agree with Undertakers for the Expences of the moſt magnificent Obſequies: But their Death was ſo generally lamented, and their Loſs ſo deeply felt by the Citizens, that amid the public Sorrow, People forgot their private Intereſt, and went out of their Character to do honour to their Memory. The Company of *Undertakers*, uſually not averſe to Gain, frankly promiſed their perſonal attendance, and the uſe of all their Apparatus, *becauſe they fell for the Commonwealth*; obſtinately inſiſting with the Pretor, that the great Preparations neceſſary for the Funeral, ſhould be contracted for with them, for a piece of money, ſcarce of two pence value; which they in end obtained †. PONTIUS AQUILA, who beſides dying for his Country, had formerly riſqued his Life on the memorable *Ides of March*, and ſpent his Patrimony along with *D. Brutus* in her ſervice, was honoured ſeparately with an *Equeſtrian Statue*, and the Money he had laid out in paying the Troops, was ordered to be repaid to his *neareſt Heirs*.

IN theſe Diſpoſitions were the *Senate* and *People* of ROME, when they heard their late created Pretor, the *young Ceſar*, was in full March from *Modena*. The Fathers met, and tho' deſerted by their own Army, and betrayed by their General, with great Firmneſs were giving Orders for new Levies, when two Legions

* Cum me pro adoleſcentulo RESP. accepiſſet *Vadem*, vix videbar quod promiſeram praeſtare poſſe.——Sed omnes adhibeo machinas ad tenendum adoleſcentem. Ad BRUT.

† VALERIUS MAXIMUS, Lib. V. cap. 2. § 10.

Legions from *Africa* happened, as if ſent by Heaven for the Protection of the City, to land in the Mouth of the *Tiber*: But ſhort-lived was the Joy inſpired by their Arrival: for *Ceſar* no ſooner approached, than debauched by their Fellow-ſoldiers in his Army, the two newly landed Legions deſerted their Poſts, and went over to his Service. Terror then of his Arms, and Dread of Maſſacre, made a Youth of nineteen Years CONSUL of *Rome*, and he took a Couſin of his own Q. *Pedius*, well enough qualified to be a Tool, for his Collegue. This, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was the laſt Day of Liberty that roſe upon the CITY, the Mother of Heroes and Miſtreſs of the World. Henceforth Freedom took her flight, and baniſhed from unhappy *Rome*, now inſulted by her unnatural Sons, took Refuge under *Caſſius* and *Brutus*'s Banners, and reſided in the Camps devoted to her Service. But neither a veteran Army, nor the higheſt Dignities can defend from the Guilt of Treachery and Ingratitude. C. OCTAVIUS, the adopted Son of *Julius Ceſar*, for the Favours and Honours heaped upon him by his Country, returned Inſult and Violence. The Armies given him by the Republic he led againſt itſelf; and *he*, who ought not to have ſet his foot within the Walls, even on a Day of Triumph, without Permiſſion from the Fathers, and to whom for that reaſon, when returning with a victorious Army, a Senate would have been called without the Walls, now marched into Town with Enſigns diſplayed, as into a Captive-City: there he threatened to ſpill *their* Blood for whom he had ſwore to be profuſe of his *own*. He thought he ſtood too low and obſcure, if he did not trample upon the Republic, and raiſed himſelf above the ſacred Laws of the Empire. LIBERTY chaſed from her once glorious Reſidence, ſaw Swords and Javelins inſtead of the Pretor's Tribunal, or Ediles Curule Chair; and the ROMAN PEOPLE, once the Conqueror and Civilizer of Nations, having driven War to diſtant Regions, and ſuppreſſed every Terror from a foreign Enemy, was now beſieged in their own Walls, and trembled at the Sight of their own

own Eagles *. Unhappy miſguided Youth! blind to thy true Intereſts! preferring Guilt to real Grandeur, and Infamy to laſting Honour! hadſt thou continued ſteady in the road to Glory, hadſt thou ſubdued the Foes of Freedom, and cordially ſupported her Friends, how precious had been thy Life, how lamented thy Death, and *unſpotted* thy Name! Whereas now, thy Dawn is remembered with deteſtation, as a *Traitor* falſe to thy Country! falſe to thy Friends! while all the Policy and Cunning of thy after-Days, cannot waſh out the Stains of thy *early* PERFIDY.

THE firſt three Steps taken by the new Conſul were of a piece with his way of obtaining that Dignity. Firſt he ſeized upon all the public Money, and divided it among his Soldiers; others ſay among the Commonalty, as the Remainder of his Father's Legacy: next, he repealed the Decree by which *Dolabella* had been voted an Enemy to the State; and then, in his Collegue's Name, he preferred a Law, (having filled the *Forum* with his *Veterans*,) for proſecuting the Deliverers of *Rome*, under the Appellation of *the Murderers of the late* Ceſar. Some of the elder Citizens, who had ſeen the glorious Days of Liberty, could not contain their Tears, but wept aloud when they heard the Crier cite *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, the firſt and beſt of Men, to anſwer as *Murderers*; for which Marks of Humanity, they were themſelves ſoon after put barbarouſly to Death. But by this Law above ſeventy of the Men of the greateſt Spirit and Bravery in the Empire, were impeached, ſome in one *Ceſarean*'s name, and ſome in another's; and as they did not appear to anſwer at the appointed day, they were condemned of courſe, and after the *Roman* Form, forbid the uſe of Fire and Water. ICILIUS a Senator, and one of the Judges, had the Integrity and Courage, in the face of the young Uſurper, when all the reſt were throwing in the black Ballot, openly to put the white one in the Urn; for

* SENECA de Benef. Lib. V. § 15.

for which he was afterwards buried among the Ruins of Liberty and the Republic.

A little before *Ceſar* approached with his Army, CICERO, who had ſtill hopes to *temper*, if he could not *direct* his Counſels, wrote a Letter to him, in which he warmly preſſed him *to heal the Wounds of the Commonwealth*, and let him know, for that end, *That one thing was expected of him, that he would be pleaſed to grant to* BRUTUS *and* CASSIUS, *and to thoſe Citizens for whom good Men, and the* Roman *People had the greateſt Regard, ſecure Enjoyment of their Lives and Fortunes.* A Copy of this Letter was ſent by *Cicero* to *Atticus*, and an Extract of what concerned *Brutus* was tranſmitted to him by their common Friend. *Brutus* looked upon *Octavius* (as he uſually called him) as little better than a Boy, of ſmall conſequence in the State, and believed that *Antony* was irretrievably ruined. He had been himſelf the Soul and Head of the Union that had lately reſcued ROME, and taken Vengeance on her Oppreſſor; had juſt defeated *C. Antony*, recovered *Macedon* and *Greece*, and was now at the Head of ſixty thouſand Men. Prayers and Intreaties to a Boy for his Safety did not ſound well in his Ears. He read them with Indignation,—which yet he ſuppreſſed, untill *Atticus* urged him to write, by acquainting him, That CICERO thought it ſtrange he never ſignified his Opinion of *his* (*Cicero*'s) Proceedings. It was then he wrote his Sentiments fully to both, in two Letters, made famous by various Tranſlations, and more various Opinions about them; while ſome look upon them as the Effects of a peeviſh querulous Temper, and others admire them as the genuine Dictates of exalted Patriotiſm.

CICERO and BRUTUS were both great and good Men; both aiming at one and the ſame Point, the *Reſtitution of Liberty*, and *Welfare of the State*. Bnt they were Men of very *different* Characters; the one cautious, delicate and ſmooth; adapting himſelf to the Times, and employing *Addreſs* to reach his Ends:

The

The other bold, reſolute and plain; requiring thro' conſcious Rectitude, *the Times to bow to him*, and to his Contempt of the Terrors that ſway common Men. Each of them acted and wrote (as all Mankind do) in their *own* Character. CICERO, prudent, complaiſant and unwarlike; treated—ſoothed—complimented—and uſed all the *Arts* of Negotiation. BRUTUS, the Bane of *Tyrants*, bred in Camps, and born for *Action*, diſdained to demean himſelf, or forget his Dignity; but openly threatened the Enemies of *Liberty* and *Rome*. To exalt the one of theſe Patriots, and depreſs the other;——to extol the Stateſman at the expence of the Hero, or the contrary, is the part of a *Novice*, unacquainted with Buſineſs, or of a *Recluſe*, little converſant with the Characters of Men.

AFTER theſe Acts of Violence, and Deſertion of his old Friends, the *young Ceſar* marched back to *Gaul* to meet his new ones *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were now joined, and advancing towards *Italy*. To cover his Treachery, the ſubſequent Hiſtorians, and particularly that arch Flatterer *Velleius Paterculus* *, are at great pains to let us know, that the firſt Propoſition of *Ceſar*'s changing Sides, and entering into a Confederacy with the Enemies of his Country, came from *Antony*. But this Palliative, thin as it is, appears to be falſe; as the later Writers, tho' zealous *Ceſareans*, ſcruple not to own, that the firſt Advances were made by the deceitfull *Ceſar* †. After his ſhuffling with *D. Brutus*, and neither coming himſelf, nor ſending the promiſed Legions, that brave Man marched, as was ſaid, in purſuit of *Antony* with an Army of Recruits, and one veteran Legion. Amidſt the greateſt Hardſhips, and with immenſe difficulty, *Antony* croſſed the *Alps*, and on the fifteenth of *May*, came with his ſhattered Remains to *Frejus* in *Provence*, two days before his Lieutenant *Ventidius*. Upon the Rumour of the

* PLANCUS, adulandi artifex ante VELLEIUM maximus.
SENECA Nat. Qu. Lib. IV.

† ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ἐπενόει τὰς ἐς Ἀντώνιον διαλύσεις. ΑΠΠΙΑΝ.

War at *Modena*, LEPIDUS had been called from *Lyons*, and was encamped at *le Luc*, upon the *Argens*, within four and twenty miles of him. MUNATIUS PLANCUS had paſſed the *Rhoſne*, the end of *April*, and was lying upon the Banks of the *Iſere* in *Dauphiny:* he had ſet a Negotiation on foot with *Lepidus*, tho' formerly at variance, to join Armies, in oppoſition to *Antony*, voted an Enemy, if he ſhould enter their Province. *Lepidus* had a veteran Army trained by the late *Ceſar*, and but ill affected to the Republic; but his Lieutenant-General *Juventius Laterenſis*, a Man of Probity and Honour, was inceſſantly preſſing him *to reſpect his Country, and join the better Party.* He had made a Journey to *Plancus*'s Camp, to compleat the Reconciliation; and at length ſo far prevailed as to make *Lepidus* finally engage, and ſign a Letter of Invitation to *Plancus*, to come and join Camps with him, againſt the ENEMY of *Rome.*

HEREUPON PLANCUS, who had paſſed the *Iſere*, decamped on the nineteenth of May, leaving a Bridge with a ſtrong Guard; and having ſent the Flower of his Cavalry before, under his Brother *Plotius*, zealous for the Republic, to intercept *Lucius Antony*, was intending to make a great Stretch towards *le Luc.* But after the firſt day's March, he was met by a Courier from *Lepidus*, with Letters forbidding him to advance a Step farther; for that the General would be able enough to cope with *Antony* by himſelf. *Lepidus*'s Inſignificancy was well known to *Plancus*; he did not mind the Prohibition, as thinking it was to hinder him from ſharing in the Glory of cruſhing the Invader; and at the ſame time, hoping his Neighbourhood would confirm the *ſound*, and check the *corrupt* part of *Lepidus*'s Troops, he marched on, and came within forty miles of *le Luc.* But here he received a Letter from the Lieutenant-General *Laterenſis*, acquainting him, *There was no hope of that Army, which was all corrupted; nor of* Lepidus, *who was a Traitor;—that he himſelf was abandoned, and could only ſave his Honour, and diſengage his Faith plighted for* Lepidus *in the late Treaty, by giving* Plancus *due warning not to truſt him,*

him, nor be circumvented; but to do his *duty to his Country and the Commonwealth*. At the ſame time he was told, that *Lepidus* having called his Soldiers to his Tribunal, made a frivolous Speech to ſound their Inclinations; when they, good Men! taught by *Canidius* and *Rufrenus*, and other ſuch Birds of Prey, cried out, *They were for* PEACE, *and would fight with no body*. This mutinous Declaration in the midſt of a civil War, that had ſwept off *two* CONSULS, and ſo many eminent *Citizens*, while the Rebels were newly attainted and forfeited, was neither checked by the *worthleſs Lepidus*, nor was he at the leaſt pains to chaſtize its Authors. *Plancus* then ſaw he was hatching Treaſon: for he had carried on a *Farce* with *Antony*, now advanced from *Frejus*,——had forbid him to enter his Camp, or debauch his Men; and then, had connived at cloſe Conferences between their Soldiers, at a Bridge of Boats being laid over the *Argens*, that ſeparated their Camps, and at his own People breaking down a Part of the Rampart to receive *Antony*, as if contrary to their General's Orders. At this fallacious Reception of *Antony*, the high-ſpirited *Laterenſis*, who in open Council had vehemently preſſed *Lepidus, not to join himſelf to a Deſperado denounced an Enemy by the* SENATE, finding his Advice rejected, and himſelf deſerted, had recourſe to a *Roman Remedy*, and fell upon a Sword that would have been better employed againſt the Traitors. He had a public Funeral decreed to him by the Senate, an Oration made in his Praiſe, and his Statue erected in the place of that of *Lepidus*, which they overturned. This double Game was played on the twenty ſeventh of *May*, and next day both Armies made a joint movement towards *Plancus*, whom the worthleſs high Prieſt had been inviting anew to come nearer, that he might ſurround and force him to a Concurrence. They were within twenty miles of his Camp, when *Plancus* receiving intelligence of their Approach, with equal ſpeed and caution having regained the *Iſere*, the third of *June*; he broke down his Bridge, and reſolved to wait the coming of his Collegue *D.*

Brutus, who was within three days march of him. BRUTUS was at *Verceils* in *Piedmont*, on the eighteenth of *May*, and at *Ivray* on the twenty firſt, when he had received, no doubt from *Plancus*, favourable Accounts of *Lepidus*'s pretended Affection to the Commonwealth; but before the ſecond of *June*, his former Suſpicions were confirmed, he knew all was wrong, paſſed the Mountains, and haſted down to join PLANCUS in *Dauphiny*.

HE took his Rout thro' the *Val d'Aoſt*, then inhabited by the *Salaſſi*, a bold untamed Tribe, who had formerly plundered *Julius Ceſar*'s Baggage, and made *Meſſalla* when Conſul pay for Wood for Fuel and Weapons; and now taking advantage of the *Roman* Diſſenſions, and of the Urgency of *Brutus*'s March, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Rocks at the Mouth of the Paſs, and of the Mountains on both Sides, demanding for free Paſſage, ſeven pence *per* Man *: This *Brutus* choſe to pay, rather than loſe Time and Troops in forcing his way to his Collegue, upon his Junction with whom both his own and the public Safety depended. And now the War was as much to begin as before the Victory at *Modena*. ANTONY had picked up about nine thouſand ill-armed Men in his flight, beſides his Cavalry, which had come off entire, and which was his chief Strength untill he was joined by *Ventidius* with three Legions; theſe being added to *Lepidus*'s ſix, (among whom was *Ceſar*'s famous *tenth*, which *Antony* had often commanded) he was again at the head of a formidable Army of ſixty thouſand Men, beſides a noble Cavalry.

ON the other ſide, in the joint Camp of the Conſuls elect were *four* veteran Legions, *one* of two Years Service, and *nine* Legions new levied; that is, upwards of *eighty thouſand* Men, an Army far ſuperior in number, and inferior in ſtrength. The two

* Οἱ ΣΑΛΑΣΣΟΙ καὶ ΔΕΚΙΜΟΝ ΒΡΟΤΤΟΝ φυγόντα ἐκ Μουτίνης ἐπεράξαντο δραχμὴν καθ' ἄνδρα. ΜΕΣΣΑΛΑΣ δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν χειμαδεύων. τιμὴν ξύλων καθῆλε τῶν τε καυσίμων, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀκουτισμάτων. ἐσύλησαν δὲ πόλιν καὶ χρήματα ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ. ΣΤΡΑΒ. ΒΙΒ. Δ.

two Battles however at *Caſtelfranco* and *Modena* had taught *Antony* more Caution in conducting the War than he had formerly uſed: he was not ſo forward to attack this Pair of Conſuls, as he had been to ruſh upon *Hirtius* and *Panſa*; but waited the Approach of *Aſinius Pollio* from *Spain*, whom he reckoned his Friend; and in the mean while let his military Intereſt, and the Hopes of the Spoils of *Italy*, operate among his old plundering Companions in the *Gallic* and *civil* Wars. Nor did his guilty Hopes deceive him: theſe corrupt Views ſoon made him not only wholly Maſter of *Lepidus*'s Army, tho' he left him the *Name* of General, and th'empty *Enſigns* of Command; but *Aſinius Pollio*, contrary to his ample Profeſſions of Patriotiſm made to CICERO *, both diſpoſed his *own* Army to rebel, and in his Paſſage, abuſed the Friendſhip he had with *Plancus*, to diſunite him from his Collegue *D. Brutus*, and bring him over to the Enemies of the Commonwealth.

THE TWO *Conſuls elect* had for ſome time acted with great mutual Confidence and Unanimity: But the Acquiſition made by *Antony* of the Strength of *Lepidus*, the News from ROME of *Ceſar*'s uſurping the Conſulſhip, and the Perſuaſions of *Pollio*, were too ſtrong for the Conſtancy of *Plancus*. He firſt wavered, then gave way, and at laſt attempted to gain merit with his new Friends, by deſtroying his old, and laid a Snare for *D. Brutus*, in order to deliver him to *Antony*. The Diſcovery of this Baſeneſs quickly ſeparated the Camps of the Conſuls. PLANCUS joined *Antony* and *Lepidus*; and BRUTUS marched farther into *Gaul*, towards *Swiſſerland* and the Riſe of the *Rhine*. He was now no Match for the Enemies of *Rome*; whoſe Legions, corrupted by her Oppreſſor *Julius Ceſar*, were again conſpiring under

* Nemini noſtrum ceſſandum eſt——res enim cogit huic tanto incendio ſuccurrere omnes, qui aut Imperium aut nomen denique Pop. R. ſalvum eſſe volunt——praeſertim cum nihil ſit periculoſius quam ſpatium confirmandi ſeſe ANTONIO dari——ego neque deeſſe, neque ſupereſſe REIP. volo.

Ad CICER. Lib. X. Ep. 33.

under his *Captains* and *adopted Son*, to re-enſlave the *Republic* made free by his Death. *Decimus* could not return by the Rout he had come, thro' the *Alps:* the Difficulties he had met with, *Antony* behind, and *Ceſar* before, left him no choice, but to undertake a dreadfull Circuit thro' the Country of the *Griſons*, round the head of the Gulf of *Venice*, and ſo down thro' *Illyricum*, to his Friend MARCUS BRUTUS, who was lying with his great Army in *Epirus* and *Macedon*. But tho' the Spirit of the General was equal to this hardy Enterpriſe, the Patience of the Troops was not. Diſpirited with their former Fatigues, and preſent Sufferings, they went, like all *Mercenaries* *, where they expected more Licence and leſs Toil; they deſerted in Battalions, the Veterans to *Antony*, and the new Levies, ſome to *Plancus*, and ſome to *Ceſar*, which was one and the ſame thing.

THUS the whole military Power in the weſtern Parts of the Empire, was, thro' the Treachery of the Captains, and the Debauchery of the Troops, turned againſt the Authority that put Arms in their hands; for the great Commands of the Republic having been filled with *Ceſar*'s Creatures, when his Succeſs ſettled Iniquity by Law †, and the peacefull Act of the Senate ratifying his Nominations, having kept them in theſe Commands, they all trimmed, and made fair profeſſions while they thought LIBERTY was to prevail: But now, that by the Accidents above narrated, the SOLDIERY came to be drawn together, and their Chiefs thought themſelves an Overmatch for their Country, they threw off the Maſque, and ſhewed themſelves true *Ceſareans.* ‡

AT

* *Nulla fides pietaſve viris qui caſtra ſequuntur,*
Venaleiſque manus: ibi fas, *ubi plurima merces.* LUCAN. Lib. X.

† JUSQUE DATUM SCELERI——. Ibid. Lib. I.

‡ Poſt interitum CAESARIS, et veſtras illas memorabiles IDUS MARTIAS,—*Brute!* —magna peſtis erat depulſa per vos. magna Pop. R. macula deleta.—Sed *Inſtrumentum Regni* delatum ad LEPIDUM et ANTONIUM, quorum alter inconſtantior, alter impurior; uterque pacem metuens, inimicus otio. His ardentibus perturbandae Reip. cupiditate, &c. CICER. ad BRUT.

AT preſent, the general Odium of the renewed War fell upon LEPIDUS *, who upon the laſt day of *June* was voted an ENEMY to the State, as well as *Antony*; as were all who did not quit their Camp before the firſt of *September*. There was never any Good to be expected from him. He had been long of *Ceſar*'s Gang, where, if he had any Spark of *Worth* or *Patriotiſm*, it muſt have been extinguiſhed: he was cloſely connected with *Antony*, who had, while *Conſul*, violently tranſlated the Election from the PEOPLE to the COLLEGES, to get him choſen *High Prieſt*, and then made a Marriage between his Daughter and *Lepidus*'s Son. This, joined with a peculiar Stamp of *Inſignificancy* in the Man himſelf, made him an eaſy Prey to the *Ceſarean* Chieftains, and a Foe to the Commonwealth.

DECIMUS BRUTUS deſerted in his Flight by his Legions, and afterwards by his *Pretorian-Guard*, was reduced firſt to *three hundred* Men; and then, by their dropping off at the Paſſes of Rivers and Mountains, to *ten*, the chief of whom was *Ser. Terentius* his Lieutenant. With theſe he hoped to travel undiſcovered; changed his *Roman* for the *Gallic* Garb, and ſpeaking the Language eaſily, paſſed for a *Celt* untill he came near to *Aquileia*. There he was overtaken by a Band of *Banditti*, who infeſted the Mountains, was ſtripped, and made a Priſoner. In this condition he aſked, to what Chieftain's Territories they belonged? and one CAMILLUS or CAPENUS being named, whom he had often obliged while Lieutenant-Governor of *Gaul*, he deſired to be led to him. At the Sight of a *Roman* Senator, *Camillus* pretended to be in wrath *with the Raſcals who had bound ſo great a Man*, ordered him to be inſtantly unlooſed, received him with great demonſtrations of Submiſſion and Kindneſs; and at the ſame time ſent private notice to *Antony* what a Gueſt he

* Praeclare viceramus niſi ſpoliatum, inermem, fugientem, *Lepidus* recepiſſet *Antonium*. Itaque nunquam tanto odio civitati *Antonius* fuit, quanto eſt LEPIDUS: ille enim ex turbulentâ rep. hic ex pace et victoriâ bellum excitavit.

CICERO ad CASSIUM.

he had in his Houſe. *Furius* a Centurion was forthwith ordered off with a Troop of Horſe to diſpatch the Patriot. At their Approach, *Brutus* ſtept into a darkſom place to elude the Search: But the Troopers breaking in, his faithfull Friend *Ser. Terence*, thought he might paſs for his General, ſtept forward in the dark, and told them, if they wanted *D. Brutus*, he was the Man. The pious Fraud did not paſs: *Furius* knew his Voice, and upon farther Search, diſcovered the unhappy *Decimus*, ſo beloved by his Followers, that another of them, *Helvius Bleſo*, fell upon his Sword, that his Eyes might not ſee the Death of his General. *

THIS great Man, among many of the young martial Nobility, had followed CESAR into *Gaul*, where he ſo diſtinguiſhed both his Courage and Capacity, as to riſe to be *Lieutenant General*; and being once entangled in *Ceſar*'s Service, in a War ſeemingly lawfull, he was prevailed upon to continue with him in the unlawfull Attempt upon his Country, which *Julius* held forth as a Party, or rather *perſonal* Struggle between him and *Pompey*. But after that eminent Man's Death, *Ceſar* giving no ſigns of any Intention to reſtore Liberty, the *Roman* Spirit awoke in *Decimus Brutus* at the firſt propoſal of reſcuing his oppreſſed Country, and he zealouſly joined the Patriots united in her Delivery. After the Reſtoration, he was the firſt Man whom *Antony* (treading in *Ceſar*'s Steps) openly attacked, and was ſo nobly

* The *Ceſarean* Writers have endeavoured to blemiſh this Patriot's Memory, and told a mean Story of his Unwillingneſs to ſubmit to the fatal Stroke. It is very improbable, that a Man who had affronted Death on ſo many occaſions, ſhould ſtartle at the final Neceſſity: But tho' it were true, it only ſhews the well known Difference, between the ſame Perſon at the head of a Legion, facing Perils from an Enemy, and on a Scaffold from the hand of an Executioner. Witneſs the famous *Lodowic Sforza*, Duke of *Milan* †, the Marechal *Biron*, the Counts *Vitellozzo* and *Frangipani*, &c.

† Ce miſerable Duc, mis dans un Cachot, ſe voyant privé de la lumiere—— fût ſaiſi d'une ſi forte apprehenſion de la mort, que la nuit même ſon poil, qui etoit fort noir, devint tout blanc. MEZERAI. Anno 1500.

nobly diſintereſted in the public Cauſe, as to ſpend upwards of three hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds of his own, and run all his Friends in debt, in oppoſing the new Invader. Two Actions of his diſcover a generous Nature. During the celebrated Siege of *Modena*, a Senator ſhut up with him, weary of the Confinement, or from views of Ambition, took the opportunity of a dark Night, and deſerted to the Enemy. *Decimus* reſented this Treachery, by calling together the Deſerter's Servants, bidding them pack carefully up their Maſter's Baggage, and carry whatever belonged to him ſafe to Antony's Camp. The other Piece of Generoſity happened upon the Banks of the Rhine: When he found it difficult to lead ſuch a Body, eſpecially of *Horſe*, as made up his *Pretorian Guard*, over ſo many Rivers and Mountains, he called them to his Tribunal, and gave them not only leave to depart to their own Homes, but taking his military Cheſt, he divided the Treaſure among the faithful Followers of his Fortunes. Indeed, Magnificence and Bravery run through his whole Character; and there appears in his *Letters* a *ſound Senſe*, joined to a *nervous clear Expreſſion*, becoming the Man of Buſineſs and the Soldier. He now fell a Sacrifice to the Fury of the *new Oppreſſors of Rome*, who could never hope to proſper in their wicked Purpoſes, while Men of his Spirit and Influence were alive to oppoſe them.

As his Death left them without controul in the weſtern Parts of the Empire, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, with their new Aſſociates *Plancus* and *Pollio*, repaſſed the *Alps*; and the Stripling-Conſul *Ceſar*, by ſlow Marches through the now *papal Territories*, met them near *Bologna*. There the *three Chiefs* had an Enterview, like Men meeting without Faith or Friendſhip, and only cemented by the worſt Deſigns. The Place of their Congreſs was a ſmall Iſland made by the *Reno*, that glides by *Bologna*; which ſeparated their Camps, conſiſting each of five Legions, and

and which is ſeldom mentioned without Marks of Deteſtation *. Men truſting in Violence, conſcious of Murders, Aſſaſſinations and Treaſon, could not well come together without a Mediator. *Lepidus* had that honourable Office between the bitter Enemies, *Antony* and the young *Ceſar*. Bridges were laid from the oppoſite Banks, a ſtrong Guard of an equal number from either Army placed at each, and then the *Mediator*, as an equal Friend to both, paſſed over by himſelf, to ſearch the Place, and prevent Treachery. Upon the concerted *Sign*, that there was no hidden Snare, *Antony* advanced from one Side, and *Ceſar* from the other; where the firſt Ceremony of their Saluting was, to ſearch one another's Cloaths for a concealed Dagger, or other deadly Weapon.—Then the twenty-year-old Conſul ſat down in the middle; and they three, after cloſe and ſecret Conſultation for two days, came, in confidence of their Veterans, to the following horrible Reſolutions.

I. To march directly to *Rome*, deſtroy the legal Government, and, under the Title of TRIUMVIRS FOR REGULATING THE COMMONWEALTH, to erect a Tyranny in their own Perſons, with equal Power, for five Years. II. To put their *own* Enemies, that is, all the *Friends of Liberty*, and all the Men of *great Eſtates*, inſtantly to death, and ſeize upon their Fortunes. III. To expell the Inhabitants of *ſeven* and *twenty* of the richeſt Towns and Roman Colonies in *Italy*, and divide them, with all the Lands belonging to them, among their Soldiers. IV. To diſtribute the weſtern Governments of the Empire, ſo as the two nearer GAULS ſhould be held by *Antony*, the farther, and *Spain* by *Lepidus*, and *Afric* with the Iſlands *Sicily*

* PONTE à LAINO, *luogo fu la Strada maeſtra, diſtante cinque miglia da* Bologna, *e famoſo per la memoria dell' abboccamento di* LEPIDO, MARCANTONIO, *et* OTTAVIANO, *i quali quivi ſotto nome del* Triumvirato *ſtabilirono la* Tirannide *di* Roma, *e quella non mai a baſtanza deteſtata* Proſcrittione.

F. GUICCIARDINI, Lib. ix.

If this be the real Place, it is upon the *Laino* or *Lavino* (not the *Reno*) another of the little Streams that water the *Bologneſe* on their way to the *Po*.

cily and *Sardinia*, by the *young Ceſar*. V. That *he* and *Antony* ſhould next Spring go againſt the remaining Friends of Liberty, *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, leading *twenty* Legions each; and that *Lepidus* with *three* ſhould remain to guard the City, and prevent *Inſurrections againſt the Uſurpers*.

Of all theſe ſhocking Reſolves, it was the *ſecond* that coſt the longeſt Time and Struggle to adjuſt; while the Enemy of one of the three Uſurpers, was a Friend to either of the other, and they again demanded *compenſation* for the Sacrifice of a Brother, Uncle, or other Kinſman given up to the Sword. This bloody Barter is perhaps the moſt horrid Tranſaction upon Record in the human Story. What the Savages of the Woods do not commit upon their own kind, and much leſs upon their Progeny, *that* theſe *three Men* committed upon their neareſt Relations. *Lepidus* conſented to the Murder of his own Brother *Emilius Paulus*, as a Friend to the *Republic*; *Antony* gave up the good and upright *L. Ceſar*, his Mother's Brother, for the ſame reaſon; and *Octavius*, with feigned reluctancy, conſented to the deſtruction of *Torannius* his Tutor, and, to his eternal Reproach, of the Man whom for a twelvemonth he had been calling his *Father*, M. T. Cicero. *Plancus*, next in power to the three Tyrants, and *Aſinius Pollio*, had the one a Brother, *L. Plotius*, then Pretor, and the other a Father-in-law *Quintius*, ſuſpected of good Inclinations, and therefore both doomed to Aſſaſſination.

It was ſaid, that, in their *firſt* Meetings, the *young Ceſar* declared againſt all Proſcription and Murder; but being once brought over, he outſtript them both in Barbarity, ſtrenuouſly inſiſting that *they ſhould not ſpare a Man well affected to the Republic*. This Behaviour is ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected of *Cowardice:* Timorous Natures cannot look ſo terrible an Object in the face, as their *deareſt* Friends, and the *firſt of Men, butchered by Ruffians, and weltering in their Blood*; but when once embarked, they are as much afraid of the *Rebound*, and there-

fore purſue the Carnage with redoubled Cruelty; as Women, when they rob, are apter to murder than their male Accomplices. In concerting the dreadful Maſſacre of the Proteſtants, CHARLES IX. of France, behaved in the ſelf ſame manner as the young *Ceſar*. When it was propoſed to take off the principal Men only, after ſome Struggle to conſent even to that, the King ſwore an Oath, *That ſince it muſt be ſo, he would not have one Proteſtant left alive to upbraid him thereafter* *.

THESE Reſolutions, (excepting the bloody one of the *Maſſacre*), CESAR, who as *Conſul* ſhould have been the *Father of his Country*, the Protector of the oppreſſed, and Supporter of the Laws, had the heart to promulgate among the Acclamations of the Plunderers that ſurrounded them: But their *Officers* dreading, not without cauſe, a Rupture in this Friendſhip, ſo ſuddenly patched up between their Chiefs, which might rob them of their Booty, and force them again to draw the ſword, on oppoſite ſides, preſſed their Leaders to contract ſome ſort of Affinity, by a marriage between *Antony*'s Daughter-in-law, *Clodia* (a Child of *Fulvia*'s by the infamous *Tribune*) and the young *Ceſar*. He was then engaged to *Servilia*, the *Iſaurian*'s Daughter of that name; but after trampling upon every ſacred Tie, *that* was eaſily got over, and he was betrothed to this young Creature before ſhe was marriageable.

AND now they marched towards ROME, once the Miſtreſs of Nations, and Glory of the Human-Race. The CITY, whoſe Name ſtruck Terror into remoteſt Barbarians, now trembled at the approach of her own Sons. A Gloom, like an invading Peſtilence or impending Meteor, hung over it. The Return of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who had been voted Enemies, with armed Force, and inſtead of oppoſition, in confederacy with the perfidious

* On a dit que du commencement, on ne parla que de tuer les principaux chefs: mais que le Roi, après avoir eû peine à s'y reſoudre, ajoûta, en jurant à ſon ordinaire, *Hé bien, puiſqu'il le faut, je ne veux pas qu'il en reſte* UN SEUL *qui me le puiſſe reprocher.* MEZERAI A° 1572.

fidious Youth who had juſt betray'd the State, extorted the Conſulſhip, and impeached the *firſt* and *beſt* of the Romans, was a Thought that chilled the Blood of the Inhabitants. At firſt a ſilent Horror reigned, which ſoon gave way to the Hurry and Confuſion of a precipitate Flight. M. CICERO and all the Patriots who had ſupported him, all the ancient Nobility, all the Knighthood of the better Party, were forced to abandon their Houſes, and fly from the Swords of the Veterans to ſave their Lives.

THE firſt *Taſte* of the Triumvir's Government was a Liſt of *twelve*, or, as others ſay, of *ſeventeen* Senators, and Magiſtrates, the chief of whom was M. CICERO, marked out for deſtruction, ſent to Town by a Party of Troopers, with orders to diſpatch them without ceremony where-ever they found them: and accordingly the Tribune *Salvius*, whoſe Perſon was ſacred, and the Pretor *Minutius*, were murdered; the one ſitting at dinner in his own Houſe, and the other walking in the Forum.——This Barbarity raiſed an alarm in the City as if they had been all deſtined for Slaughter; and the poor *Pedius*, who lately lent his Name to the Impeachment of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, running about the Streets all night, from one Magiſtrate's Houſe to another, to quiet their minds, by ſhewing them the *partial* Liſt, put his Blood in ſuch a ferment, that he died next day. But the Amount of the black Catalogue made up by the Triumvirs conſiſted of no leſs than *one hundred* and *forty* Senators *, and of *two thouſand* of the beſt Gentlemen of Rome, who were all to be hunted down by the Veterans, and butchered where-ever they were found.

To put it in execution, the *three Tyrants* entered the City on three ſucceſſive days; firſt *Ceſar*, then *Antony*, and then *Lepidus*, (whom they were to make Conſul in place of *Decimus Brutus*), and immediately the Sentence of Death was publiſhed againſt their neareſt Friends, to ſhew that *others* needed expect no mercy; and then they emitted the EDICT or ACT OF PROSCRIPTION

* Others ſay *three hundred* SENATORS, and *two thouſand five hundred* CITIZENS.

PTION. The Form of it is recorded by *Appian*, and ſhews that there is no Conduct, ſo crooked or inhuman, but *Colours* may be found to ſanctify it †; and accordingly the later Hiſtorians, who wrote when the Succeſſion to the Empire was ſettled on the *Ceſarean* foot, mention that horrible Tragedy, acted by the *Triumvirs*, with abundance of Moderation. * That polite Proſtitute *Velleius*, ſmooths over their execrable Deeds with telling coolly, *that the evil Pattern of* Sylla's *Proſcription was imitated.* God forbid that I ſhould attempt to alleviate the atrocious Cruelties committed by SYLLA! But he had high Provocation: he was not the firſt to *begin* Blood-ſhed; what he did was pure Revenge; and his fierceſt Deed, (killing ſo many of the Commons ſhut up together) was a *Retaliation* of a like Barbarity. *L. Damaſippus* the Plebeian Pretor, at the inſtigation of the mercileſs MARIUS, had called the Senate as if upon publick Buſineſs, and when they were met, he ſuddenly ſurrrounded the Senate-Houſe with Soldiery, *and cut the Throats of all the Nobility there aſſembled.* But the bloody *Triumvirs* had no *Colour* nor *Species* of a Cauſe for their ſavage Procedure, except the Pretence of *avenging the Death of a Traitor* upon free Men, ſtanding up for their native Rights, and nobly aſſerting the Laws and Liberties of ROME.

THE Tenor of the Edict bore, ‘ *That no perſon of what Quality or Station ſoever, ſhould preſume to aſſiſt, conceal, or convey away any of the* Men whoſe Names were under-written, *under Penalty of being added to the Liſt of the condemned; that for every Head of thoſe brought to the* Forum, *the* TRIUMVIRS *wou'd pay a Premium of* eight hundred Pounds, *if brought by a* free Man, *and of* ſixty Pounds *if by a* Slave, *beſides giving him his Liberty. That the ſame Sums ſhould be likewiſe paid to* Informers; *and for their ſecurity no Man's* Name *who received Money for a condemned Perſon's Head, or for giving Information, ſhould be entered*

† It was dictated, they ſay, by the *young* CESAR in time of dinner to M. ANTONY, who acted the *Clerk*. SENECA de Clem. Lib. I.

* Syllani Exemplum Mali PROSCRIPTIO Inſtauratum. VEL. PATERC. Lib II.

'*entered into any* Book *or* Regiſter kept *by the* Triumvirs.' At the ſame Inſtant this horrid Edict was affixed, the Gates of the City were ſhut, Guards ſet upon them, and upon the Bridges, Ports and even upon the Lakes, Fens, Woods or other hiding Places all around *Rome*; and then the blood-thirſty Centurions were let looſe to *ſearch* and to *ſlay*. In a moment the *Capital* of the habitable World, became a Scene of Villany, Perfidy, and Carnage, ſuch as the Sun had never witneſſed: The execrable EDICT was an *Invitation* to perpetrate all manner of Wickedneſs, and called forth, by Impunity and Premiums, all the latent Poiſon, all the Impiety, Treachery and Ingratitude that taint the Dregs of a corrupt People. It armed Sons againſt their Fathers, Wives againſt their Huſbands, Servants againſt their Maſters, and, like its *Authors*, trampled upon every thing Sacred among Men. What remained of the vital Blood of Rome unſhed by the Sword of *Julius*, was now, to the Power of the Tyrant, ſpilt to the laſt drop. *Order* was reverſed—*Villany* triumphed,—and *Virtue* was a mortal Crime. The Princes of the *Senate*, the venerable Magiſtrates, the *Conſuls* and *Pretors*, lately commanding Kings and Kingdoms, were now making away with themſelves: or, if they loved Life, were falling on their knees before their own Slaves, begging in vain for Protection and Concealment. The young *Heirs* of noble Families, were compelled, in the Innocence of Nonage, to take the manly Gown, in order to have their Throats *legally* cut, and their Eſtates confiſcated to the Triumvirs. Theſe *Three Tyrants* ſat openly in the *Forum*, reviewing the diſfigured Heads of their Friends and Fellow-Citizens newly ſevered from their Bodies, and paying the Price to the Murderers; while the *curſed FULVIA* feaſted her eyes *at home*, and ſatiated her Spight in dictating the moſt deteſted Acts of Cruelty. When weary of the Forum, her Spouſe *Antony* retired to Dinner, and, amidſt the moſt ſumptuous and exquiſite Luxury, contemplated the Scalps brought in by his Blood-hounds,

the

the Centurions: After leiſurely conſidering one of their Faces, *this Man*, ſaid he careleſsly, *was not of my Acquaintance:* for private Malice, taking opportunity of a ſavage Government that made Murder meritorious, prompted ſecret Enemies to deſtroy one another; ſo that the Streets and Courts were filled with promiſcuous Carcaſſes; and the *priceleſs Head* remaining on the Trunk was the ſole Diſtinction between the *Triumvir*'s Stab and a private Aſſaſſination.

A Detail of all the monſtrous things committed at this time, could only pleaſe a Mind delighted with Recitals of Horror, and Pictures of intenſe Miſery: Some ſurpriſing Adventures and miraculous Eſcapes will naturally come in under the *Characters* of the few great Men who were able to reach either *Brutus*'s Camp, or get over to *Sicily* to the young *Pompey*. I will therefore draw a Veil over the deplorable Exits of the nobleſt Romans, that move alternate Sorrow, and unavailing Indignation, in order to draw a Concluſion worthy of every Briton's conſideration.

THIS CATASTROPHE of once triumphant *ROME*, this Scene of unutterable Woe, was brought upon the Queen of Nations, by VICE, CORRUPTION, and IMMORALITY. *Theſe*, the moſt ambitious Profligate that ever was born, JULIUS CESAR, ſeized as handles to get into Power, to debauch the Army, overturn the Laws, and ſet up a Tyranny under the name of *perpetual Dictator:* and by *theſe*, his Lieutenant-General *Antony*, his Maſter of Horſe *Lepidus*, and adopted Son *Octavius*, were enabled to re-aſſemble his corrupt Armies, and to execute the diſmal Legacy of Rapine, Murder and Deſolation he had prepared for degenerate *ROME*.

BRITONS BEWARE! THINK WHAT YOU ARE DOING! The Man that forgoes VIRTUE for WEALTH, that ſacrifices *publick Spirit* to *private Pleaſure*, is forging Fetters for himſelf and his Poſterity. *Luxury* and *Immorality* arrived at a certain Pitch, infallibly entail lawleſs Power and abject Slavery. VICE is a tame, humble, crouching thing; and

VIRTUE,

VIRTUE, *real* VIRTUE, the moſt undaunted and exalting Principle in the human Breaſt. Let us open our Eyes upon the Fate of an Empire far mightier than WE, nor flatter ourſelves that *WE* can be at once a *vicious*, and a *free* People. VIRTUE is the *ſole Guardian* of the deareſt and moſt precious Treaſure of the human Race, of glorious LIBERTY, the vital Principle of a happy Nation: But this her *Guardian* once gone, and the foul deteſted *Spectres* of Proſtitution, Debauchery and Cowardice, come in her place, the Goddeſs inſtantly takes wing, and abhors the *fiend-haunted* Habitation. What tho' we have the beſt of Governments, and that Government in the beſt of Hands at preſent? What tho' we have the nobleſt Proſpect in the *Royal Race* for the future?—*it may not be always ſo:* and whenever the Struggle is renewed, as we have too often ſeen it in *Britain*, the MORALS of the PEOPLE muſt and will decide the Victory. If *they* are ſound, the *Conſtitution* is ſafe; if *they* are thorowly corrupted, *public Ruin* is at hand. For he who indulges in Riot and Profuſion is *renouncing his Freedom*; and he who breeds up his Son in enervating Luxury *, is actually *preparing him for a* SLAVE. All-conquering ROME had never taſted the *Triumvirs* Scourge, had not her *Tribes* turned *immoral*, *venal*, and ſo *profligate*, as to prefer *Vatinius*, a Wretch black with Crimes, to the god-like Man, the *Honour of the human Race*, M. PORTIUS CATO. Nor have *WE* in *Britain* any Title to exemption from the univerſal Law, *that the better muſt command the worſe*; that the *vicious* muſt be *Slaves*, and the *virtuous*, *Free:* the ſame Cauſes muſt and will produce the ſame Effects, thro' all the *Empire of Morals:* and whenever our MANNERS are wholly depraved, when we turn *irreligious* towards GOD, and *unjuſt* towards MEN, when we ſink in Sloth, and plunge in Immorality, then LONDON, now the Pride of *Europe*, the Center of *Commerce*,

* ΜΗ ΜΩΕΟ ΤΑ ΜΑΛΑΚΑ, ΜΗ ΤΑ ΣΚΛΗΡΑ ΕΧΗΣ.
ΕΠΙΧΑΡΜ. παρὰ ΞΕΝΟΦ.

merce, the Fountain of *Law*, and Seat of *Learning*, becauſe the SANCTUARY of LIBERTY, as all the flouriſhing Towns of *Great-Britain*, after its Example, muſt lay their account with falling a Prey to Ruffians, and being made Scenes of Horror and Deſolation, like ancient ROME, under the *TRIUMVIRS*.

IT is not worth while to relate the Steps they took to give a *Colour of Law* to their Uſurpation; nor how the Tribune TITIUS propoſed a mock Statute, to veſt their Violence with the Forms of Juſtice. The Attempt was an additional Inſult offered to Mens Underſtandings then, and appears ridiculous now. For the glaring Iniquity and horrible Cruelty with which they maſſacred rich Men of *all Parties* and *Denominations*, for the ſake of Houſes, Lands, Wives, Daughters, or even of a curious *Jewel* * coveted by the Triumvirs, ſhewed their Invaſion of the Government to be *a total Extinction of* RIGHT, *a Subverſion of all* LAW *and* EQUITY, and the *laſt Effort* of *diveſted Humanity*.

BUT among the many dreadfull Sights to be ſeen in every Corner of unhappy *Rome*, and over all lacerated *Italy*, no one ſhocked the *Romans* ſo much as the Head and Hands of their *Patriot*, M. TULLIUS CICERO, nailed up a Spectacle of Horror in the *Roſtra*. The Life of that great and illuſtrious CONSUL had been one continued Series of Services to the Public. He had ſaved ROME, the SENATE, and the COMMONWEALTH twice from Maſſacre and Deſtruction; and the Sweetneſs of his Temper in private Life, the Innocence and Elegance of his Manners, as well as the Splendor of his Eloquence, and Extent of his Learning, had made him the Delight aud Admiration of all who approached him: and now in his old Days, the taking off his venerable Head, crowned with recent Glory, redoubled the Bitterneſs

* NONIUS ASPRENAS, a Senator, thought himſelf ſafe, as having ſtaid to carry nothing away but his Ring, in which was ſet a celebrated Seal, valued at more than *L.* 16,000. ANTONY enraged that he had dared to carry off the Jewel, ordered ſo ſtrict a Search to be made for him, that the Senator's *Head* and the fatal *Ring* were brought to him together.

terneſs of every Man's private Miſery. It made the Uſurpers inexpreſſibly odious: his *Worth* was ſo approved, and a ſincere Love to his Country ſo conſpicuous in all his Conduct, that the loweſt and moſt abject of the *Roman* Writers *, even after they were long inured to Tyranny, have ſtill deteſted the execrable Deed.

UPON the Approach of the Triumvirs to Town, being perfectly aware what the *Patron of Liberty* had to expect from theſe new *Maſters*, and what *himſelf* had to expect from *Antony*, he had retired to the neareſt of his Country-ſeats, *Tuſculum* †, the Scene of ſome of thoſe *philoſophical Dialogues* that have contributed to immortalize his Name. Thence he went down to *Aſtura* upon the Coaſt, and took ſhipping, to paſs over to *Sextus Pompey*, who had the Command of SICILY, a Country under the higheſt Obligations to CICERO; as indeed he could ſcarce viſit a *Province of the Empire*, where his good Deeds or good Name would not have procured him a welcome. He ſtood out to Sea two or three times; but the Wind proving contrary, and the Waves running high, he was not able to bear the row-

* Par ſcelus admiſit Phariis ANTONIUS armis;
Abſcidit vultus enſis uterque ſacros.
Illud laurigeros ageres cum laeta triumphos
Hoc tibi, ROMA! caput cum loquereris erat.
ANTONI tamen eſt pejor quam cauſa POTHINI;
Hic facinus *Domino* praeſtitit, ille *ſibi*.
VAL. MARTIAL. Lib. III. § 66.

ANTONI! phario nil objecture POTHINO,
Et levius *Tabulâ*, quam *Cicerone* nocens!
Quid gladium demens Romana ſtringis in ora?
Hoc admiſiſſet nec *Catilina* nefas.
Impius infando miles corrumpitur auro,
Et tantis opibus vox jacet una tibi.
Quid proſunt ſacrae pretioſa ſilentia linguae?
Incipient omnes pro CICERONE loqui.
IDEM, Lib. V. § 3.

† Now a Neſt of Monks, called *Grotta Ferrata*, the Iron Grotto.

ling of the Ship, and landed at the Point *Circello* * to refreſh himſelf. Here he paſſed a ſleepleſs Night, between Anguiſh for ROME, and Uncertainty what Courſe to ſteer; to *Macedon* or *Sicily*. The Memory of the many Diſpleaſures he had received, and the Torture of Mind he had endured in the *laſt civil War*, made him think *Death* preferable to a *Campaign* at his Years. But his Servants prevailed with him to go once more on board, and ſail at leaſt to Cape *Gaëta*. He did ſo; and the Weather nothing relenting, he went up to his own *Formian Villa*, with the fatal Reſolution *of dying in the Country he had often ſaved from Ruin*.

IN the happier days of the Republic, one *Popilius Lenas*, a Legionary Soldier, accuſed of a capital Crime, and thought in imminent danger of Condemnation, had been earneſtly recommended by *M. Coelius* to the Protection of CICERO; who managed the dubious Cauſe with ſuch Addreſs and Eloquence, that he reſcued the trembling Criminal, and ſent him ſafe home to his Friends and Family. This very Man, either from Greed of the great Price ſet by *Antony* upon CICERO's Head †, or to ingratiate himſelf with the *Triumvirs*, went to them of his own accord, and obtained a ſpecial Commiſſion to murder his Benefactor. He came now on the Tract, and was approaching with the Troopers to the *Formian Villa*, when *Cicero*'s Servants, with Tears and Entreaties, forced him into a Chair, to carry him down thro' the Woods and By-ways to the Shore; and being all armed when the Ruffians overtook them, they ranged themſelves round the Sedan, reſolute to die in their Maſter's defence. But he commanded them to ſet him down, and ſubmit to the Neceſſity of Fate. Then putting aſide the Curtain, as the Aſſaſſins drew nigh, *Come forward*, ſaid he, old Soldier! *here*

* *Circeium Promontorium.*

† Upwards of *L.*8000.

here I wait you; and if ever you did any thing right * *in your Life, do it now, when you ſtrike off my Head.* The venerable Appearance of the *aged* CONSUL, and the grave Intrepidity with which he ſpoke, confounded the Villain; he looked wild,—heſitated—and fell a trembling: when CICERO with a Smile, *Why, what would you have done,* ſaid he, *if I had been the* firſt *Man you had come to murder?* Then ſtooping forward from his Seat, and ſteadily holding forth his Neck, he received the unworthy Blow that ſevered his Head from his Body.

THUS fell M. T. CICERO, born for the Good of Mankind, and for the Glory and Preſervation of the *Roman* State. He had reached his ſixtieth and third Year; and from the memorable time he had entered upon Buſineſs, and defended an innocent Youth circumvented by SYLLA's Minion, *Chryſogonus*, that day had ſeldom ſhone upon him, in which ſome *State*, ſome *City*, ſome *Family* had not been praying for his Health and Proſperity. His Countenance was gracefull, and his Health, thro' Temperance and Exerciſe, unbroken even to old Age. He had been *fortunate* in falling in *peacefull* Times, when his Humanity, Learning, and Eloquence firſt raiſed him to the higheſt Stations, and then enabled him to fill them with Luſtre and Dignity. The *Manners* of the *Romans* were then greatly *depraved*, and the Citizens had loſt their priſtine Innocence: many Crimes were committed by the Men in Power, which produced many *capital Cauſes*, and afforded him great Opportunities, fitted to his Talents, to lay the reſcued Criminals under the Obligation of Life and Liberty to their Patron. Theſe Opportunities were ſo many, and ſo important, that, conſpiring with his natural Delicacy, they early drew him from the *rougher Exerciſes* of a martial *Roman:* But in every *other* reſpect, his *Genius* and *Capacity*—his *Application* and *Taſte* admit of no common Epithets. They are

* Many great Men, Martyrs of Liberty, have ſhewn a ſerene Mind, by a Touch of Pleaſantry at their Death; ſuch as *Theramenes*, Thraſeas Paetus, *Anne du Bourg*, Sir *Thomas More*, *Algernoon Sidney*, &c.

are above being called *great*, or *eminent*, by being conſecrated as *the Objects of the World's Admiration* in thoſe Works that will only periſh with it: For CICERO when alive, was the Refuge of the unhappy, the Terror of Traitors, the Prince of the Senate, the Preſerver of *Rome*; and now when dead, his Works are ſtill the Delight of the Learned, the Inſtructors of the Wiſe, the Patterns of Elegance, whoſe various Merit would require ſuch an Eloquence as his own *to do it Juſtice*.

THE Ruffian, *Popilius*, cut off his Hands as well as his Head, and carrying them to *Rome*, he found the *Triumvirs* ſitting at their bloody Recognizance, ſurrounded with ſuch a Croud as prevented his getting nigh them: But upon calling out the Name of CICERO, and holding up the mangled Head, *Antony* immediately commanded way to be made for him. He had the Barbarity openly to handle and inſult the Remains of the illuſtrious *Roman*, and then ſent them home as a precious Preſent to his Wife FULVIA. She ſet the Head upon her Knees, and with unſeemly Words and Geſtures, pulling out the Tongue with her own Hand, run it thro' and thro' with her Bodkin; after which, as was ſaid, ſhe ordered it to be nailed up between the Hands in the *Roſtra*, a Sight of Horror and Execration to the *Roman People*.

BY ſuch Sights and Sufferings the noble and undaunted Spirit of that glorious Nation was utterly cruſhed, and LIBERTY took her final Flight from ROME, never to reviſit it more. Her remaining Inhabitants henceforward degenerated by degrees; thoſe of the greateſt and truly *Roman* Spirit had been murdered in the *Field* by JULIUS CESAR; the reſt were now maſſacred in the City by his Son and Succeſſors: in *their* room came *Syrians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, and other enfranchiſed Slaves *, from the conquered

* Vivant *Galataeque Syrique*
Cappadoces, *Gallique*, extremique orbis *Iberi*,
Armenii, *Cilices*: nam poſt civilia bella,
Hic POPULUS ROMANUS erit— LUCAN. Lib. VII.

conquered Nations, who in half a Century had ſunk ſo low, that *Tiberius* pronounced her very *Senators* to be *homines ad ſervitutem natos* *, *Men born to be Slaves.* For LIBERTY is the *Life* and *Soul* of a Nation: while actuated by it, they exert the Vigour of a healthy Man, directed by Duty and Honour: when it is gone, and SLAVERY ſettled in its place—when the lawleſs Will † of a Tyrant becomes the moving Principle, the State turns like one of theſe *Carcaſſes* ‡, which the Credulity of the *Eaſtern Church* believes to be taken up, and animated by the Devil, in order to do miſchief to all its Neighbours.

LET us therefore turn our Eyes from the tremenduous Spectacle of the Miſtreſs of the World, trampled upon by three bloody Tyrants, and follow the flying Goddeſs to her laſt Refuge, the Camps of her Champions *Caſſius* and *Brutus*; after having obſerved, that in the Life of the MAN whoſe Name theſe Memoirs bear, there are *three* very different Periods. The *firſt* from his early entering upon Buſineſs, at his Return from *Apollonia*, untill the Victory at *Modena*; during which, under the direction of *Cicero*, he *acted* the *Roman* and the *Patriot*. The *ſecond* from his extorted Conſulſhip, untill the Defeat of *Antony* at *Actium*, when he played the *Tyrant* and the *Triumvir*: and the *third*, from the Conqueſt of *Egypt* to the *End of his Life*, when he became firſt the *Prince*, and then the *Parent* of his Country and People. The firſt Period laſted little more than *a Year*; the ſecond almoſt *twelve*; and the laſt and beſt no leſs than *four* and *forty*; for the ſake of which it is, that the former two have found a place in theſe MEMOIRS.

* TACITUS.

† CAR TEL EST NOTRE PLAISIR.

‡ VROUCOLACAS: on ne crioit que VROUCOLACAS dans la chapelle; et la place qui eſt audevant.

M. TOURNEFORT voyage du Levant, Lettre III.

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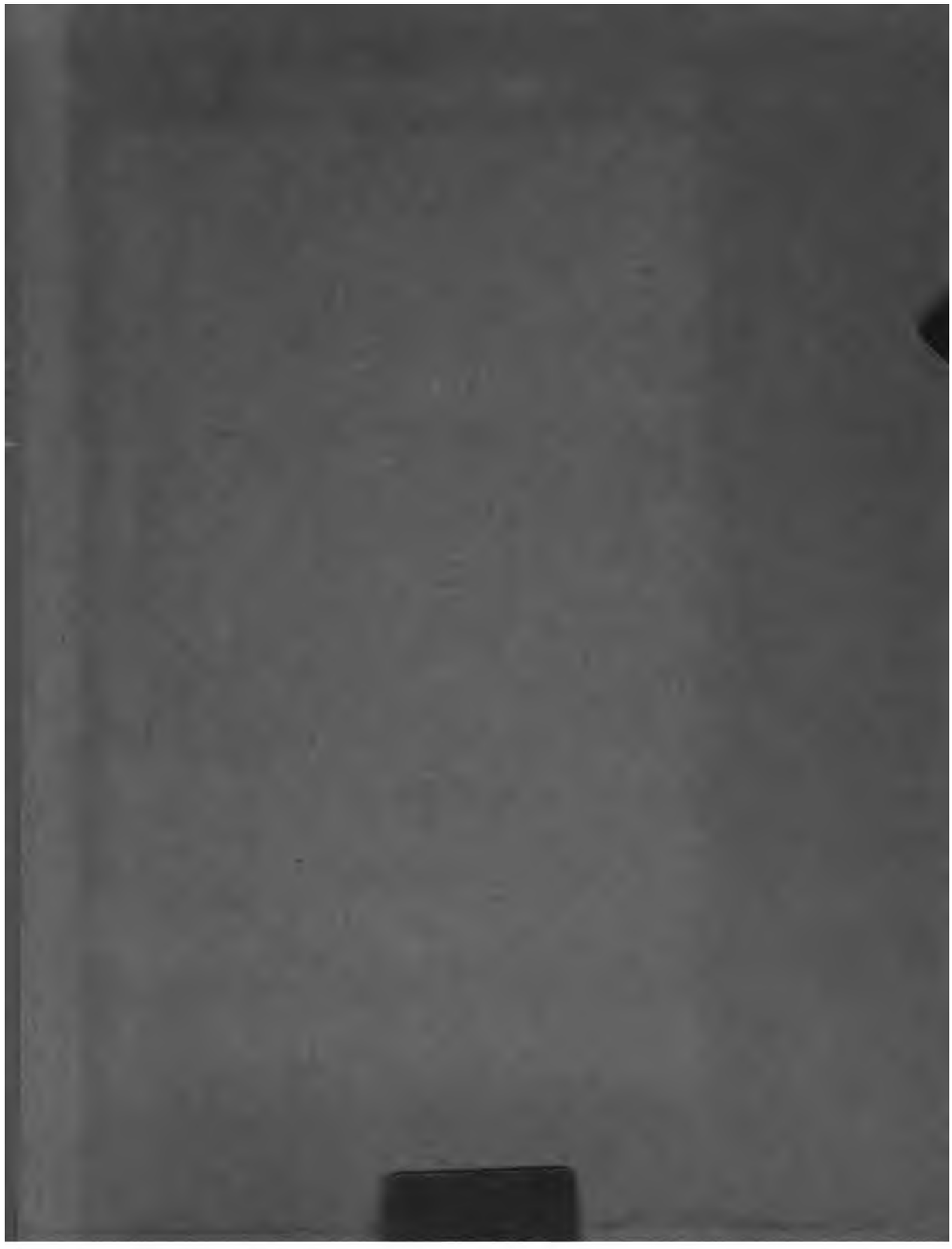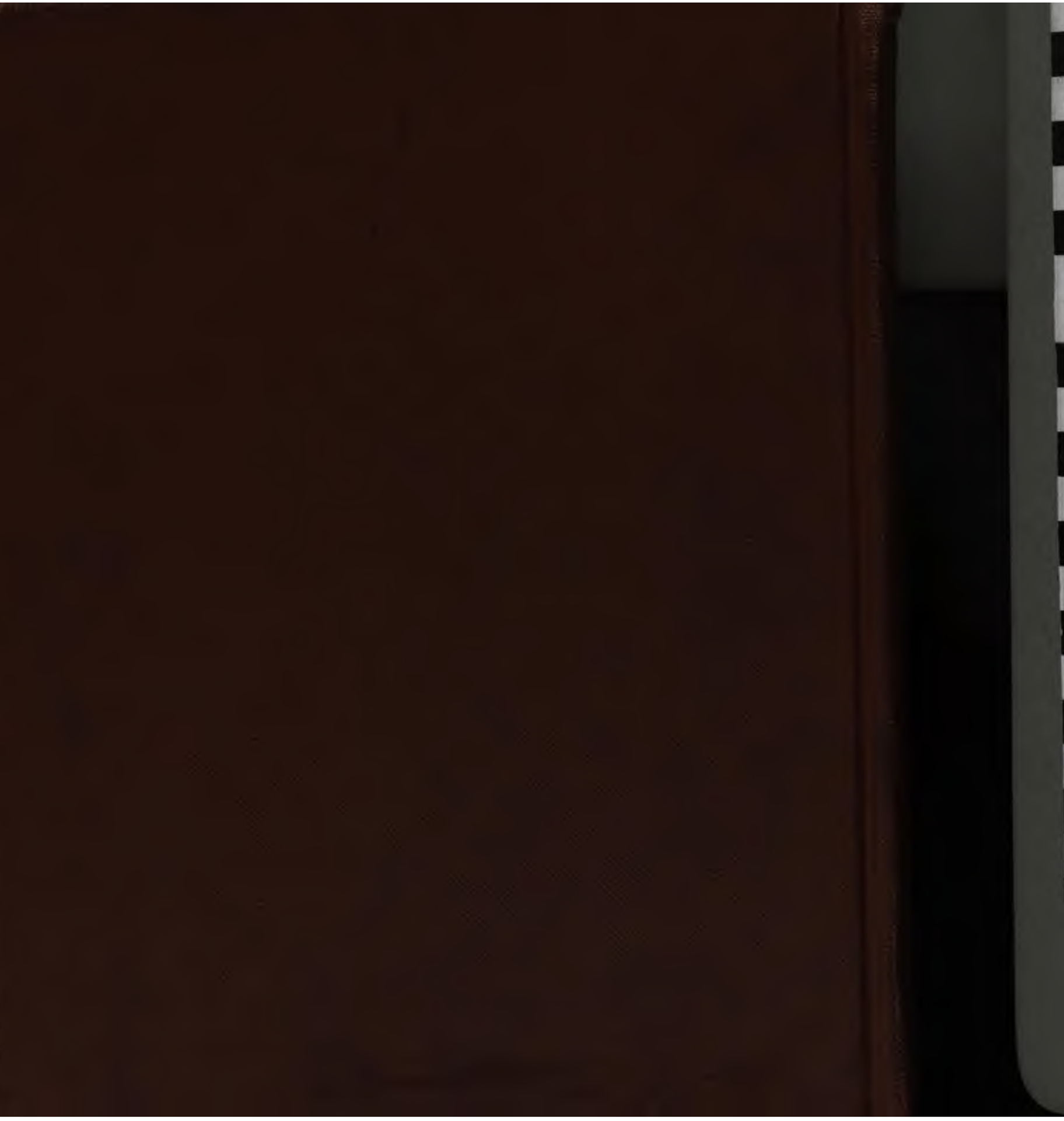
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